WRITING THE OTTOMANS

Turkish History in Early Modern England

Anders Ingram

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Turkish History in Early Modern England

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Abbreviations and Conventions

Arber, I-V	Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1660*, I–V (London: 1875–1894)
BL	British Library
MS	Manuscript, e.g., BL Arundel MS 8
Cal. S.P. Dom.	*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*
Cal. S.P. Ven.	*Calendar of State Papers Venetian*
ECCO	*Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, www.find.galegroup.com/ecco
EEBO	*Early English Books Online*, www.eebo.chadwyck.com
Knolles (1603)	Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes, from the first beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie* (London: Adam Islip, 1603)
Knolles (1610)	Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes, from the first beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie* (London: Adam Islip, 1610)
Knolles (1621)	Richard Knolles and Edward Grimeston, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes, from the first beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie* (London: Adam Islip, 1621)
Knolles (1631)	Richard Knolles, Edward Grimeston, and M.B., *The Generall Historie of the Turkes, from the first beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie* (London: Adam Islip, 1631)
Knolles (1638)	Richard Knolles, Edward Grimeston, M.B., Thomas Roe, ed., and Thomas Nabbes, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes, from the first beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie* (London: Adam Islip, 1638)
Knolles (1687)	Richard Knolles, Edward Grimeston, M.B., Thomas Roe ed., Thomas Nabbes, Paul Rycaut, and Roger Manley, *The Turkish History, from the Original of*

	that Nation, to the growth of the Ottoman Empire (London: J.D. for Robert Clavell, Jonathan Robinson, Awnsham Churchill, and Thomas Basset, 1687)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com
Present State	Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London: for John Starkey and Henry Brome, 1668), in *EEBO*. Note the first edition of 1666 (bearing an imprint of 1667) is extant but rare. I have used the printing of 1668.
Rycaut (1700)	*The History of the Turks Beginning with the year 1679* (London: for Robert Clavell and Abel Roper, 1700)

I have modernised i/j, u/v, and vv/w, other than in Latin transcriptions, all other spellings have been retained. Caps locks and initial letters have been modernised to capitals (e.g. CONSTANTINOPLE to Constantinople; and THe to The).

Introduction

> the mightie Empire of the Turks ... is from a small beginning become the greatest terror of the world, and holding in subjection many great and mightie kingdomes in Asia, Europe, and Affricke, is growne to that height of pride, as that it threateneth destruction unto the rest of the kingdomes of the earth; labouring with nothing more than with the weight of it selfe.[1]

The emergence of the Ottoman Empire as an expansionist military, economic, and political presence in central Europe and the Mediterranean in the first half of the sixteenth century forced European authors to engage heavily with these events and their background. By the early seventeenth century, when Richard Knolles wrote the above passage, the overweening power, wealth, and size of the Ottoman Empire, 'the greatest that is, or perhaps that ever was from the beginning',[2] was axiomatic to European contemporaries, inspiring not only fear but also fascination. References or allusions to 'the Turks' became ubiquitous and might occur in virtually any genre or context. However, historical writing, which both described and sought to account for the Ottoman advance, was particularly well suited to addressing the fundamental questions that Europeans asked in the face of their expansion. Where had the Turks come from and who were they? How had they conquered such a vast area so rapidly? What should be done about them? As John Shute wrote in 1562:

> these Bokes ... declareth fro[m] whence the Turckes came: when they fyrste came into the lesse Asia, of what condition they were, the warres that they made and upo[n] what nations they made them, the

> victories that they obtayned: and howe they used them, & the whole meanes wherby they attained to that mightie seate in the whiche they nowe sytte and commaunde…[3]

This is a book about English attempts to write Turkish history in the period of Ottoman expansion into Europe, from the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the treaty of Karlowitz in 1700. It argues that English authors adopted the forms, conventions, and content of a continental discourse of Turkish history, which had developed in response to the Ottoman advance into Europe, and adapted it to take on new meanings in English contexts. It then addresses why this topic was important to English authors, recovers the materials they drew upon, explores the contexts in which authors and publishers worked, and contrasts and compares English reactions to Ottoman expansion to the accounts of the Turks that emerged from the developing Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomatic relationship. Beyond these specifics I argue that historical writing was a central part of how early modern English authors understood and wrote about the Ottoman Empire, one which modern scholars have neglected – if not quite ignored – and one that shaped early modern English engagement with the Turks.

Central to this argument is the contention that historical writing not only described the supposed origins and dynastic history of the Ottomans, but explained and contextualised their aggressive advance across the globe by imbuing these events with deeper significance within wider moral, religious, philosophical, or political frameworks and narratives. Amongst the vast mass of early modern English works that depicted or described the Turks, historical writing produced some of the most cogent, detailed, and rhetorically accomplished accounts, and often served as source material for writing in other genres from travel narratives to drama. It is no coincidence that the two leading early modern English authorities on the Turks both wrote histories. Richard Knolles (d. 1610), who wrote the first major English account, was drawn upon, quoted, referred to, and appropriated by a very large number of early modern authors well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when he was referenced approvingly by Byron, Samuel Johnson, and Robert Southey.[4] For his part, Paul Rycaut (1629–1700), the first Englishman to produce a systematic general account based largely on first-hand knowledge, influenced the writing of Montesquieu, Adam Smith, Racine, Leibniz, Temple, Locke, Cantemir, Byron, and Louis XIV's Prime Minister Bourbon, and his *Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1666) was printed in no less than six European languages.[5]

Historical writing, its forms and conventions, its leading lights and lesser known names, played a crucial role in describing and defining the significance of the Ottoman Empire in early modern England.

History and discourse

My approach in this book builds upon the work of previous scholars in this field, but complements these by drawing upon methods and approaches from intellectual and book history. Rather than conceiving of the Turk as a figure in early modern writing and exploring the complex commonplaces, associations, and tropes that were clustered around it, I will focus upon English writing on Turkish history, examine the contexts in which such works were produced, and the debates in which they engaged. This approach is centred upon the authors and their contexts, but also the generic forms their writing took, their rhetoric and language, the sources they drew upon, and how their works were read by contemporaries. I will also address the context in which these books were produced as material objects, who they were printed by and for, what formats they took, and how writing on Turkish history fitted into the wider book world of early modern England.

To illustrate this approach consider Richard Knolles's colourful description of the Ottomans as 'the terror of the world', cited by virtually all the scholars in the field including Samuel Chew, Gerald MacLean, Nabil Matar, Daniel Vitkus, Matthew Dimmock, Matthew Birchwood, Richmond Barbour, Jonathan Burton, and Aslı Çirakman. These scholars have generally treated this expression as either emblematic of English attitudes to the Turks, or part of general discourse in which the figure of 'the Turk' was a marker of otherness or difference. In contrast I will show this expression ('terror of the world') to be a literary commonplace present in numerous of Knolles's sources, and discuss how his use of this trope reflects his depiction of the Turks in relation to contemporary debates. Further, while none of the above scholars undertake a detailed account of Knolles's work or its intellectual or book history contexts, I will explore its sources, publishers, legal history, piracy, and readership in detail. Though I build on the work of all the above scholars, I hope my shift in emphasis towards intellectual history will bring new contexts to bear on the study of English writing on the Turks.

When English authors wrote histories of the Turks they drew upon an existing body of previous European historiography with its own images and structural and rhetorical models. On a more immediate level, they also derived from this discourse normative assumptions, debates, and

facts, in the sense of particulars or discrete details taken to be true and widely repeated. For example, a common normative assumption was that the government of the Ottoman polity was characterised by 'the Tyranny, Oppression, and Cruelty of that State'.[6] Here 'Tyranny' was not simply a term of abuse, though it did carry a pejorative force. Rather, as a neo-classical political category it implied a matrix of underlying structural relationships that shaped descriptions and observations of the Ottomans throughout the period. Alongside such conceptual baggage English authors also took on a vast range of established or assumed details. The widespread assertion that the Turks were 'lineally descended fro[m] the Barbarous nation of the Scithians',[7] was inherited from the debates of an earlier generation of Humanist historians. Alongside such commonplaces an array of historical dates, names, places, anecdotes, and so forth were seemingly endlessly repeated and recycled (e.g. 'Tangrolipix', founder of the *Seljuk* Sultanate). English writers incorporated 'facts' such as these, drawn from existing continental books, with other elements, details from news or travel writing, or personal observations, in ways that reflected both their intellectual contexts and English historical and social *mileu*.[8]

As Englishmen read, translated, and reworked material from continental accounts of Turkish history their perspective, motivations, expectations, and methods were shaped by a contemporary discourse as to what constituted 'history' as a form of writing. These self-same continental histories of the Turks also contained many ideas as to the purposes of writing history, methods, approaches to assessing evidence, and appropriate forms and styles of writing. This is not the place for an extended digression on the development of the early modern *ars historica*, however, commonplace humanist views of the value and purposes of history, of the kind that became established from around the mid-sixteenth century, were both a clear and explicit context for many English authors writing Turkish history, and thus merit a brief discussion.[9] This tradition had tended to draw from classical antecedents, most notably Stoic teaching on rhetoric, which viewed history as a source from which to draw moral examples for public and private life. In particular Cicero's *De Oratore* 2.36 was so widely quoted that it became used as an aphorism summarising the conventional tropes of the utility of historical works. Hence, for instance, the English dedication to *A shorte treatise of the Turkes chronicles* (1546), a translation of Paolo Giovio's *Commentario de le cose de Turchi* (1532), which riffs repeatedly upon the theme of the value of history over the underlying melody of these lines of 'the eloquent oratour and famous clerke Cicero':

> An hystorie is the witnes of tymes, y[e] glasse of trueth, the keper of reme[m]brance, y[e] guyde of our life, and the messinger and tydinges teller of all antiquytie.[10]

For the translator Peter Ashton, Giovio's account is worth translating into English as much because its account of Ottoman history is a store of moral examples, as for the topical interest of the material itself. Whether by framing the events of Ottoman history within a providential narrative such as the biblical prophecy of Daniel, using specific episodes as moral *exempla* (e.g. the story of Tammerlane and Bajazet to illustrate hubris before a fall), or drawing lessons in statecraft or military organisation, a fundamental assumption permeating most English accounts of Turkish history was that historical writing itself ought to teach valuable moral lessons for public and private life, or demonstrate religious examples. True 'History' was not merely the recounting of past events, but, more profoundly, it was expected to be an account of the *meaning* of those events in terms of their embodiment or illustration of moral or religious precepts.

This study will focus upon three broad overlapping categories of English material in which the discourse of Turkish history featured. The first is works explicitly addressing the history of the Turks as their topic, including both overviews such as Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603), and more specific works such as Abraham Hartwell's translation of Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi's *The History of the Warres Betweene the Turkes and the Persians* (1595). The second category is tracts describing events involving the Ottomans, such as news pamphlets, especially those containing descriptions of events of the kind that were the mainstay of contemporary historical writing, that is, military campaigns and dynastic change. The overlap with news is inescapable as throughout the early modern period news pamphlets served as sources for longer accounts and shared many of the tropes and images common to the latter. However, the basic category of 'news' was extremely fluid across the period, and as such the gradual evolution of print culture, the news pamphlet, the periodical, and newspaper, is interwoven with the story of how the English wrote on Turkish news and history.[11] The third category is simply other works that contain substantial sections on Turkish history or events involving the Ottomans. In this final category we can include general works on the Ottomans, which although not addressing explicitly historical topics contain notable amounts of history, such as Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1665). I shall also examine numerous more general works, for example, many works of travel

writing such as George Sandys's *Relation of a Journey* (1615) contain historical sections. Although these general works are not the focus of this study, by exploring how historical writing on the Turks overlapped with other related fields, such as writing on Islam, political philosophy, geography, and travel writing, we are able to view this historiography in its broad intellectual, social, and cultural contexts. I will not attempt the vast task of exhaustively surveying and summarising all English writing on the Turks across the period 1453–1700. Instead I will focus upon three periods of acute conflict: the 1540s, 1590–1610, and the 1680s. These intervals demand our attention as they produced the most intense spates of English writing on the Ottomans. However, focusing upon them also allows the kind of close reading and contextualisation required by dense and complex materials such as histories.

European historiography on the Turks

English historical writing on the Turks was part of a wider European intellectual response to the expansion of the Ottoman Empire into Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and their continuing presence as a major European power. In 1453 the city of Constantinople fell to the forces of Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II ('*Fatih*' or 'the Conqueror'), and the shockwaves of this event reverberated across Europe. Numerous texts lamenting the city's sack were composed and James Hankins has shown that the crusade literature of the late-fifteenth century was at least equal in volume to all that that survives from the high Middle Ages.[12] A major part of this European intellectual response to the Ottomans was the development of a historiographical tradition depicting their origins, character, and recent expansion.

This historiography has been examined in the scholarship of Nancy Bisaha who explored Humanist reactions to the late-fifteenth-century Ottoman advance, and Margaret Meserve who has traced its roots back to medieval chronicle precedents.[13] Both of these scholars argue that early Humanist discussions of the Turks were shaped by the rhetorical need to paint the Ottomans as a dangerous and barbaric enemy. This objective was met by tracing the origins of the Turks back to classical 'Scythians', as described by Herodotus, and linking these to the seventh-century Khazar peoples who had allied themselves with the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, though Meserve shows that this genealogy does not in fact reflect the ethnic origins of the Oğuz Turks from whom the Seljuk and later Ottoman Turk dynasties had descended.[14] The Humanist debates surrounding the origins of the Turks, and the general consensus

that they were ultimately descended from 'Sycthians', became mainstays of historical writing on the Turks as it developed in the sixteenth century, and were adopted from continental sources by English authors. Consequently 'Turkish history', as conceived of in early modern England, was not merely the story of the Ottoman dynasty, but extended back to their supposed nomadic origins as 'Scythes', taking in the history of the Khazars and Seljuk state as it survived in medieval chronicles.

By the early-sixteenth century a new breed of European historiography on the Ottomans was evolving. Authors, such as Marcantonio Sabellico (1436–1506) and Marino Barlezio (d.1512/1513?), combined material from older authorities, and the debates on origins with which they were so concerned, with contemporary sources like news reports, accounts of travellers and diplomats, captives tales, and practical crusade treatises. Following a period of relative consolidation in the late-fifteenth century the Ottoman Empire expanded rapidly giving European historical writing on the Turks a new impetus. In the reign of Selim I (r. 1512–1520), Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and much of the Arabian Peninsula (notably the Hejaz) were conquered. Selim's successor Suleiman I (r.1520–1566), extended the Empire into central Europe with the capture of Belgrade (1521) and Rhodes (1522), the collapse of the medieval kingdom of Hungary following the battle of Mohács (1526), and the final taking of Buda (1541). Historians, such as Paulo Giovio and Francesco Sansovino, who responded to and described these events became key sources for English historical writing on the Ottomans as it evolved from the 1540s, as did the likes of Barlezio, Sabellico, Flavio Biondo, Andrea Cambini, and Giovanni Battista Cipelli, all of whom were later drawn upon as sources by Richard Knolles. By the mid-sixteenth century there had evolved an established and sophisticated body of European historical writing on the Turks that was not only drawn on for material for translations, or assimilated into accounts by English authors, but also served to establish the key reference points for what constituted the subject of Turkish history.

English writing on the Ottoman Turks

English historical writing on the Turks evolved out of a wider European discourse. However, it was also part of a much larger body of English writing on the Ottoman Turks that included not only scholarly accounts such as histories but also news, religious and political polemic, sermons, ballads, plays, travel accounts and geographies, and diplomatic accounts. Indeed these are only the most prominent examples, as the topic of the Turks was so widely discussed that passing mentions might

occur in almost any context. Although English writing on the Turks in its broadest sense is a prohibitively large topic, recent advances in the digital humanities have opened up new techniques through which we can assess the scope of English engagement with the Ottomans in ways hereunto not possible. This in turn has important implications for how we approach the more specific discourse of English historical writing on the Ottomans.

Andrew Hardie working at the University of Lancaster has developed a Corpus Linguistics query processing tool named CQPweb, which (amongst other applications) enables scholars to survey a very large Corpus, representing nearly a tenth of extant early modern works (not including multiple editions).[15] We can use this tool at a very basic level to illustrate some key features of the extent of English writing on the Ottoman Turks. I searched this Corpus for the term 'Turk' and its variants, and then plotted these results chronologically by decade using the bibliographical details of the original works.[16] I then normalised these figures to remove chronological variation in the sample size (i.e. number of texts and words per decade) by calculating frequency of the term 'Turk' per million words in the database per decade.[17] The resulting graph (Figure I.1) shows the intensity of usage of the term 'Turk' by decade, in 3,548 texts, from a survey of 12,284 early modern works.

Although this kind of survey is very general and best used as a means of framing more traditional techniques of research and analysis it illustrates two extremely important points very clearly. The first is

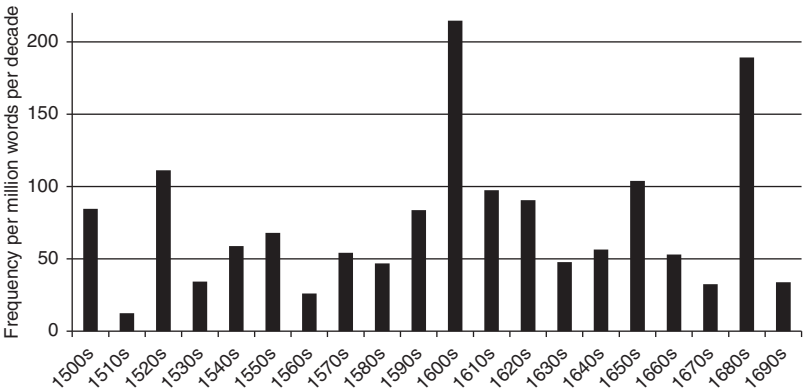

Figure I.1 Normalised Frequency of 'Turk' in EEBO_V2 per decade

simply the massive scale of English writing on the Turks: 3,548 works mention the term 'Turk' out of a survey of more than 12,284, a figure that implies that the total number of extant early modern English works that refer to Turks is in the tens of thousands. This is a powerful affirmation of the importance of the work of scholars such as Matar, Mclean, Dimmock, and Birchwood who have all argued that tropes of the 'Turk' played a prominent, if largely forgotten role in early modern English cultural life.[18] The second is that English interest in the Turks is not consistent across time periods, but rather peaks at specific points, in particular in the 1600s and the 1680s, a conclusion that supports my previous research.[19] This phenomenon is of especial interest as both the 1600s and the 1680s were periods of intense Hapsburg-Ottoman conflict: the Long War 1593–1606 and the War of the Holy League 1683–1699. A closer examination of the works from which these hits are drawn confirms a preponderance of texts written in response to these military crises, as well as a more general trend towards writing on the topic of military conflict in works written in these periods.

As the most natural vehicle for discussing military campaigns, battles, leaders, and relations between nations, historical writing and news (which often also served as source material for history) was a fundamental part of this response. However, while the importance of historical writing on the Ottomans has been acknowledged by other scholars writing in the field, it is fair to say that no study has engaged with the topic in a way comparable to the attention Bisaha and Meserve have directed toward early Italian Humanist historiography.

Critical approaches

Since the publication of Nabil Matar's *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (1998) a sizeable body of scholarship has grown up on the topic of English perceptions of and engagement with the Ottoman Turks, Islam, and the wider Muslim world in the early modern period. As this field has developed a number of broad trends have evolved in its theoretical basis and assumptions. The first is a disciplinary commitment towards literary studies. Foundational works such as Samuel C. Chew's survey *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (1937) and the literary critic Edward Said's strongly polemical *Orientalism* (1978) established a literary basis for the study of English and European depictions of the Ottoman world and 'east' more generally. The literary origins of this field are perhaps one of the reasons why studies of early modern drama are so well represented.[20]

A second major trend is the influence of postcolonial writing and broadly psychological, or indeed psychoanalytical, theoretical models to describe and explain the salient features of English and European depictions of the Ottomans and Islam. While few scholars now try to anachronistically apply Said's 'Orientalism' to the early modern period, the impulse to provide a single overarching explanatory model to define the topic remains potent and continues to shape critical accounts.[21] For many scholars the preferred model has been a simplified Lacanian notion of the 'Other', positing the Turks as a reference point against which English or European identities defined themselves, a process echoed at more localised levels of confessional or political identity.[22]

The 'Other' has certain strengths as a model, particularly in the nuanced and refined versions of this model discussed by Vitkus, Maclean, and others. It is general enough to reflect, if perhaps not quite accommodate, the intrinsic variety and complexity demanded by such a large topic. It provides a schema in which to consider some of the very broad commonplace features of English and European ideas of the Turks, associations and images such as tyranny, rapacity, greed, arrogance, deviant sexuality, turbans, circumcision, apostasy, scimitars, wealth, carpets, piracy, slavery, absolutism, and so forth. Above all it is a useful tool for describing and deconstructing the complex and multi-faceted meanings that were attributed to the figure of the Turk in early modern polemical writing from the Reformation onwards.[23]

However, the 'Other' model also has weaknesses. Though it might be seen to provide a coherent overview to a massive and deeply complex topic, one might sensibly ask if this is in fact a false sense of coherence. Given the ubiquity of the Turk as a figure in early modern writing, occurring in many thousands of separate works, the value of a single heuristic model to summarise the supposed central features of such writing is surely questionable. More specifically the 'Other' does very little to draw us towards the contemporary debates, concepts, and contexts through which early modern English authors engaged with and depicted the Ottoman Turks and their past. It tells us nothing about the relationship between English sources and the continental texts that they translated, drew upon, and assimilated. It also does not require us to ask about the genres and forms of writing through which English authors systematically considered the Turks, or how generic rhetorics and conventions shaped these accounts. Furthermore, because of its wide usage in postcolonial studies it is difficult to separate the concept of the 'Other' from a range of comparisons to later eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth-century European imperialist involvement in the Islamic

world and modern Middle East.[24] Such comparisons require careful handling if they are not to seriously distort our understanding of the context in which early modern Englishmen encountered and engaged with the Ottoman World. In contrast, while this book builds on previous scholarship, the approach I have outlined above, drawn from intellectual history, avoids these issues. It does not attempt to further theorise the complex figure of the 'Turk' in early modern literature as a whole, instead focusing upon the more specific discourse of Turkish history. By focusing upon authors, the language they used, and the contexts in which they wrote and were read, it foregrounds contemporary concepts, images, and debates, rather than advancing broad psychological or anthropological motivations for these depictions.

English historical writing on the Ottoman Turks

The chapters that follow are broadly chronological tracing the development of English writing on Turkish history from its earliest roots, to the Ottoman expansion into Europe in the early-sixteenth century, and up to the end of the seventeenth century, when the Ottoman position in Europe altered radically following the treaty of Karlowtiz (1699). In particular I will examine the 1590s–1600s and the 1680s, two periods of Ottoman military involvement on the continent that stimulated extensive historical writing, and the longer term context of the Anglo–Ottoman economic and diplomatic relationship as it evolved across the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[25]

Chapter 1 addresses early English printed works on the Turks, up to the 1540s, which was the first decade during which a substantial number of historical works in English appeared in response to the final collapse of the medieval kingdom of Hungary in the face of the Ottoman advance. It begins with the earliest English translations of historical material in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. The chapter then explores how the twin contexts of the Ottoman advance and Reformation played out in print in late years of Henry VIII's reign. Specifically I argue that a clique of strongly reformist printers, who had previously enjoyed the patronage of the State, used the topic of the Turks to continue producing an evangelically committed output in the years following the fall of Cromwell, when Henry VIII had pulled back from further religious reform. I end by comparing and contrasting two contemporary English translations of Paulo Giovio's *Commentario de la cose de Turchi*, showing how the language and imagery associated with the Turks – from the scourge of God, to the apocalyptic dragon – could

be appropriated in differing contexts for aims as divergent as religious polemic and flattering a monarch.

Chapter 2 deals with English writing on the Ottoman-Hapsburg Long War of 1593–1606, a period that stimulated an unprecedented flood of English writing on the Turks. It concentrates on two related forms of writing, that is, news and history. The first section analyses the transmission and translation of continental news accounts in England. I also read these accounts in the parallel context of the evolution of news as a print genre in this period, when it was undergoing radical transformations in content, physical form, and market. This section is centred upon the printer and bookseller John Wolfe who was at the heart of these developments. The second part of this chapter looks at longer historical accounts of the Turks published during the Long War and often explicitly referencing it (several of which were also published by John Wolfe). I read these in the patronage and print contexts in which they appeared and argue that they reflect not only the Ottoman advance into Europe but the socio-historical contexts in which they were produced.

Chapter 3 focuses upon the crucial and yet critically neglected figure of Richard Knolles, English historian of the Turks, and author of the *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603), the most authoritative and widely read English account of Turkish history in the early modern period. The chapter addresses Knolles's biography, sources, intellectual foundations, and method, relating his writing to its continental chronicle sources and contemporary notions of history and historical writing. Following from this it analyses the structure, content, and rhetoric of the *Generall Historie*, focusing on key concepts such as providence and tyranny, through which Knolles's structured his account of the Turks, their state, and history, and attributed meaning to them. The chapter ends with an appraisal of the legacy of this influential work through the ways in which it was read, cited, and appropriated by authors throughout the seventeenth century.

England was geographically removed from the borders of Ottoman territory, and Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy was negligible until after William Harborne's acquisition of trade capitulations in 1580.[26] However, in the seventeenth century the Levant trade developed into one of the central contexts in which the English encountered and engaged with the Ottoman Empire. Trade, the diplomacy it required, and the travel it facilitated, also acted as spurs to English writing. Chapter 4 assesses the influence of trade, diplomacy, and travel on historical writing. However, it also conversely argues that the forms, tropes, and example of historical writing had a formative effect on many accounts

of the trade. One result of this interrelationship was that many authors who wrote promoting or justifying the trade had ambivalent or negative attitudes towards the Turks themselves. Hard-headed advocacy of trade could, and did, sit comfortably with deeply held pejorative commonplaces and stereotypes. The first section looks at the representation of the Levant trade in the works of Richard Hakluyt, a prominent geographer and publicist for colonial and commercial ventures. Hakluyt balanced his desire to promote the trade, in which his patrons were centrally involved, with the need to defend the probity of diplomacy with the Turks, against a backdrop of rumours of anti-Spanish Anglo–Ottoman collusion. The chapter then turns to the continuations appended to later editions of Knolles's *Generall Historie* in 1606, 1610, 1621, 1631, 1638, and 1687 and argues that, as they were increasingly informed by documentary materials generated by diplomacy, they came to reflect the concerns and issues central to those negotiations, notably the problem of Barbary piracy. The third and final part of this chapter concentrates upon Paul Rycaut, one of the most important and influential English authors to write on the Ottomans and their history. Rycaut's accounts of the Ottoman state were based on his time as secretary to the Ambassador Heneage Finch; however, they were also heavily shaped by the politics of the Restoration, and the influence of previous English historical writing on the Ottomans, particularly that of Knolles, whose structure and style his later works adopted, at the insistence of his publisher.

Chapter 5 focuses on the extraordinary outpouring of writing on the Ottoman Empire in response to the War of the Holy League 1683–1699, and the second siege of Vienna (1683). It argues that the major territorial losses suffered by the Ottomans at the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), following which the Ottoman Empire ceased to be a major central European power, were reflected in a dramatic shift in European perceptions of the Turks going into the eighteenth century. Similarly to the early Long War 1593–1606, explored in Chapter 2, the War of the Holy League stimulated a sizeable literature of historical writing on the Turk. Indeed these later works have much continuity with the writing of the previous century. In particular they drew upon the established structures, content, and tropes of earlier histories of the Turks, in order to contextualise and understand contemporary Ottoman military involvement on the continent. However, despite these formal similarities, the historical works of this period also reflect a profound change in attitudes to the power and status of the Ottoman Empire, and these developments mark the beginning of a new phase of English writing on the Turks and their history.

Note on nomenclature

The Ottoman Empire was comprised of far ranging territories in Asia, Africa, and Europe, and its population was made up of diverse and overlapping linguistic, ethnic, religious, cultural, and social groups. The ruling elite called themselves *Osmanlı*, or 'Ottomans' in western parlance, a term originally denoting 'the followers or household of Osman', the eponymous founder of their dynasty (c.1300). With the integration of local elites as the empire expanded territorially and the adoption of the practice of *devşirme*,[27] this ruling elite was no longer necessarily, nor even primarily, ethnically or linguistically Turkish. In classical Ottoman usage the term 'Turk' might even take a pejorative sense, referring to the Anatolian peasantry. However, contemporary sixteenth and seventeenth-century western usage in the main treated the terms 'Ottoman' and 'Turk' as synonymous, and this was true even amongst authors such as Richard Knolles who was aware of this issue of nomenclature.[28] Furthermore, western authors also commonly elided the differences between the Turks of the Ottoman Empire and pre-Ottoman 'Turks' such as the Seljuks and even Khazars – a continuity that represents a fundamental assumption about the origins and nature of the Ottoman Turks in early modern European historiography.

In addition to referring to Turks in an ethnic or linguistic sense (i.e. speakers of Turkic languages) the term might be used by early modern European writers to refer to members of the Ottoman hierarchy (regardless of ethnic background), converts to Islam, and even Muslims in general. In eliding 'Turks' with Islam ('the Turkish religion'), and especially converts who had 'turned Turk', the term came to take on a broad range of figurative, rhetorical, and polemical usages, associated with deception and apostasy, which also tended to acquire a stronger resonance in periods of crisis such as the 1680s when the Ottoman Turks were topical (e.g. 'Turkish whigs').[29] Nonetheless, despite these generalised and figurative usages, by the late sixteenth century many English authors in fact often used terms such as 'Turk', 'Moor', and 'Saracen' in specific and differentiated ways.[30] When dealing with historical literature, it should therefore not be assumed that these terms were synonymous with either each other or Muslims more generally.

This is a study of English depictions of what they perceived as 'Turkish History' rather than of Ottoman History *per se* (in the sense examined by Ottomanists). For the sake of clarity I have followed my sources in using the term 'Turks' to apply to not only ethnic and linguistic Turks, but Ottomans, and pre-Ottoman Turkish dynasties such as

the Seljuks. Terms such as '*Seljuk*' and '*devşirme*' have been rendered in modern Turkish spellings. Dates have been transcribed as Common Era rather than Islamic. Where place names of locations differ from modern transcription the modern name is given in brackets at the first mention, for example, Smyrna (Izmir).

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1
Turkish History in Early English Print

The 1540s was the first period in which general accounts of the Turks and their history began to appear in English. These accounts are characterised by the twin contexts of Ottoman expansion into central Europe and the intensity of the religious upheavals of the end of Henry VIII's reign. The printers and translators that produced them responded directly to the Ottoman advance, often translating continental accounts, but the texts they produced cannot be understood without recourse to the English circumstances in which these figures worked, and it is the intersection of these influences that form the central theme of this chapter. However, before I can turn to the texts of the 1540s, and the religious characteristics that make them distinctive, I must first set the stage by surveying the very earliest accounts of the Turks to be printed in English and how these overlapped with the debates of the English Reformation.

In the half century following the capture of Constantinople in 1453 a sophisticated body of writing evolved on the continent, notably in Italy, describing the origins of the Turks, the Ottoman dynasty, their state, and its expansion into Europe. Writing the history of the Turks was an integral part of European attempts to contextualise and account for the Turkish advance. Descriptions of the contemporary Ottoman state or military overlapped extensively with more explicitly historical writing, frequently including discussion of the supposed origins of the Turks and their dynastic history. Similarly early 'news' (though the term is somewhat anachronistic), shared both topical and formal elements with chronicle writing, which also tended to focus in detail on military events such as sieges. Early histories of the Turks in England drew on all of these elements of wider continental writing, but they should also be understood as part of a more specifically English commentary on

Ottoman expansion. Although no general account of the Turks or their history appeared in England until the mid-sixteenth century, the sack of Constantinople did generate interest and comment. In 1480 one of the earliest English printed books, William Caxton's *Cronicles of Englond*, drawn from the earlier Brut Chronicle manuscript (c. 1461), included a description of the sack of Constantinople and the *Sancta Sophia*, one of the most famous churches in Christendom.

> Aboute this tyme the cite of Constantinople whiche was imperiall cite in all grece was taken by the turkes infidels … And that riall chyrche of Sancta Sophia robbed and despoilled and the reliques and ymages and the Rode [i.e. Cross] draw[en] aboute the stretes whiche was done in despite of cristen feith, And sone after alle cristen faith in grece perisshed & cessid. Ther were many cristen men slayne and innumerable sold & put in captivite, by the takyng of this toune the turke is gretly enhau[n]sed in pride, And it is a grete losse un to all cristendome.[1]

Nor was this the only reference to this event in Caxton's output. His translation from William of Tyre, *Here Begynneth the Boke Intituled Eracles* (1481), opined that his own time 'semeth moche semblable and lyke' to the days of the First Crusade, when Christendom also fought against 'mescreauntes and turkes'. The principal difference being that 'at this daye it is so that they have comen over and goten that Imperial Cyte Constantynople.'[2] Although these references are brief they illustrate some central features of early English depictions of the Ottomans. The threat presented by the Turkish infidels is to the Christian faith and Christendom at large, a perception also reflected in a number of anti-Turkish indulgences printed in England in this period and well into the sixteenth century by Caxton and others.[3] Ottoman expansion is understood as part of a longer pattern of conflict with the archetypal Islamic enemy of the crusades, and presented in a simple opposition as part of the ongoing historic tribulations and struggle of the church against the devil. The Ottoman Turks are synonymous with proverbial 'Mahometan' crusading opponents such as the 'Saracens', but also other previous Turkish dynasties such as the Seljuks, who had featured in the crusades. An important consequence of the elision of the differences between these groups was that the relevant backstory to explain and contextualise the advance of the Ottomans was an expansive 'Turkish history' – rather than history of the Ottoman dynasty *per se*. This broad remit of 'Turkish history' included elements as diverse as the humanist

narratives on the origins of the Turks, which Margaret Meserve has argued proliferated following the capture of Constantinople,[4] and accounts of crusade against 'Turkish' opponents such as the sieges of Nicaea (1097) or Antioch (1098). For early modern authors the 'history of the Turks' seemed a self-evident continuum stretching all the way from Herodotus's Scythians, to crusades against the Seljuks, to conflict with the Ottomans at the battle of Nicopolis (1396), siege of Constantinople, and beyond.

The primary context in which contemporaries viewed the Ottomans was the threat they posed to Christendom. The subject of the earliest extant detailed account of the Ottoman advance to be printed in England was the unsuccessful assault on the city of Rhodes in 1480. John Kay's *The Siege of Rhodes* ([1481–1484]) is a translation of *Obsidionis Rhodie urbis descriptio* (1480) by Guillaume Caoursin, the vice-chancellor of the order of the Knights of St John, the crusading order who garrisoned Rhodes.[5] It is interesting and significant both for the level of detail it provides and for what it tells us about the means through which continental accounts of the Turks were transmitted to England and into English. Kay's account begins with the wider context describing the Ottoman advance into Europe over the last 40 years, the 'lamentable' fall of Constantinople, and the recent death of 'the grete Turke late named Mahumete' (Mehmed II who had died on 3 May 1481). His account of the siege itself contains many tropes common to contemporary continental accounts of the Turks. Sultan Mehmed II is a 'cruell tyraunt' and 'insacyable enemye to oure crysten fayth'. The Ottomans are the 'rodde' or scourge of God, used to punish wayward Christendom. The 'noble cytee of Rhodes', is described as the *antimural*, 'the key & yate [i.e. gate] of all crystendome', a metaphor that was often later applied to Vienna as the central bulwark against the Turkish threat. However, despite the oppositional tone, the account of the siege itself is more detailed and accurate than any previous account of the Ottomans to appear in England.[6] Yet though Kay's translation of Caoursin's 'dylectable newesse and tithynges of the gloryous victorye' is vivid, the Ottoman threat he describes is also distant one, which Kay has only witnessed second hand in Italian pamphlets and tracts on the sieges of Constantinople, Negroponte, and Rhodes that he read while travelling in Italy.

> I have seen & red in Italye of the oppressyng & captyvyte [i.e. captivity] by the sayd Turke of the worshipful cytee somtyme of Constantinople: and also not many yeres passed of the infortunate

> losse of the streng cytee of Nygrepount. For the Cardynale greke of Mycene made & wrode in latyne the lamentable captyvyte of Constantinople to the pope: and Balthasar perusyn wrote in the langayge Italyon of Nygrepount to the lord of Urbyn.[7]

The provenance of the sources Kay mentions illustrate the means by which a contemporary Englishman might access detailed accounts of the Ottomans. 'Cardynale greek of Mycene' is very likely a reference to Isidore (later of Kiev), who was born in southern Greece, had been a Metropolitan who favoured union with Rome, and later a Cardinal and Papal Legate to Constantinople, who wrote a Latin eyewitness account of the siege addressed to Nicholas V.[8] 'Balthasar perusyn' is surely a reference to one of the outpouring of Italian news tracts that were printed in response to the Venetian loss of Negrepont to the Ottomans in 1470.[9] Although little is known of Kay himself, he was evidently remarkably well informed for a fifteenth-century Englishman, having read at least three continental accounts of the Ottoman advance, including Isidore and Caoursin – representatives of a developing humanist historiography. However, the fact that the first detailed English account of the Ottomans exclusively references continental tracts encountered abroad is an indication of the rareness of this kind of material in contemporary England.

Reacting to the paucity of current accounts such as Kay's, and reflecting perceptions of the Ottomans as the latest in a historical lineage of Islamic adversaries, English translators and printers turned to medieval material. Matthew Dimmock has argued that a number of texts reworking polemical lives of 'Mahomet' from medieval manuscript sources were published by English printers such as Caxton and Richard Pynson in response to Ottoman expansion in the late-fifteenth century, including Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* (1482), Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* (1483), John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (1494), and especially the *Travels* of Sir John Mandeville, first printed by Pynson in 1496.[10] Medieval chronicles that contained extended episodes of Turkish history also appeared, and Pynson printed two such translations in the 1520s: *Here begynneth a lytell Cronycle* (1520), a history of the Tatars containing much Turkish material,[11] and *Here begynneth the thirde and fourthe boke of sir John Froissart* (1525), which gives a detailed account of the Ottoman victory over a crusader army at Nicopolis in 1396.[12]

English perceptions of the Ottoman threat are also reflected in wider literature at this time. Alexander Barclay's translation cum adaption of Sebastian Brandt's allegorical satire *The Shyppe of Fooles* (1509) repeatedly

references the Ottoman advance and the fall of Constantinople 'lost of newe & … in the handes of these false turkes'. With no small amount of prescience Barclay intones, 'O Rhodes defende well our fayth / and dystroye the unhappy turkes that dyspyseth our lawe'.[13] The contemporary 'metrical romance' *Capystranus* (1515), which is loosely based on the deeds of Italian friar John Capistrano, who raised a peasant crusader army that lifted the 1456 Ottoman siege of Belgrade, offers greater detail. However, while *Capystranus* is historical in the sense that it describes a past event, it is primarily a romance. Sustained engagement with the history, state, or religion of the Turks is not the point. They are simply the villain of the piece; an Antichristian enemy whose role is to throw into relief the desperate heroism of the defenders, who are eventually saved by Capystranus's miraculous invocation of divine aid.

The Ottoman Empire expanded to an unparalleled extent during the short but prodigious rule of Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–1520), who rapidly conquered Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and the Hejaz. However, it was not until the succession of Selim's son, Suleiman I, when the Ottomans turned once more to Europe, taking Belgrade in 1521 and successfully besieging Rhodes in 1522, that these events were reported in English publications. In 1524 Roberte Coplande (fl. 1505–1547) translated and printed two texts together relating to this siege of Rhodes. The first was *The begynnynge and foundacyon of the holy hospytall*, a short account of the history of the Knights of St. John.[14] The second, *Here foloweth the siege, cruell oppugnacyon, and lamentable takynge of the cyte of Rodes*, was taken from the eyewitness account of Jacques de Bourbon (d. 1527).[15] Copelande's tract is similar to Kay's. They are translations that draw upon material from more than one source, and present accounts that though couched in oppositional language and rhetoric, are essentially detailed and relatively accurate, going far beyond either general awareness of the Ottoman advance, or presenting the Turk as a generic romance antagonist.[16] However, while they in some ways anticipate important characteristics of the greater volume of English works on the Turks that would appear in the 1540s, one of their key features – their relatively unproblematic identification with Christendom – was to be shaken fundamentally by the Reformation.

The Reformation and the Turk

The massive expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the sixteenth century occurred concurrently with the Reformation in Europe. As Martin Luther posted his ninety-five theses in Wittenberg in

1517, Selim I wintered in Cairo, following the conquest of Egypt earlier that year. As Suleiman led successful European campaigns in the early 1520s, with the collapse of the medieval kingdom of Hungary following the battle of Mohács (1526) and the first siege of Vienna (1529), the Reformation gathered pace throughout Europe. By the final taking of Buda (1541) the English Reformation was well underway with the separation of the Church of England from Rome and the dissolution of the monasteries. The Ottomans were a topical concern for authors writing across the spectrum of the religious controversies of the early Reformation, and these religious upheavals were a crucial context for the publication of the first group of detailed works on the Turks and their history, which appeared in England in the 1540s.

While the histories and humanist tracts of the second half of the fifteenth century had been characterised by ongoing but broadly unsuccessful calls for a crusade in response to the Ottoman advance, the Reformation saw the recycling of images of an external Ottoman threat as a way of articulating the internal divisions of a Christendom riddled with religious, social, and political conflicts.[17] Literal and figurative images of the Turks and their religion featured heavily in the English Reformation debates engaged in by Simon Fish, Thomas More, John Rastell, and William Tyndale.[18] Although these arguments were conducted through the medium of polemic, their depictions of the Turks, and Islam, form an important intellectual context for the general historical accounts of the following decades.

Throughout this period Islam was overwhelmingly associated with the Ottoman Turks.[19] This widespread identification of Islam as the 'Turkyshe religion'[20] served to place the Ottomans within a wider historical framework of Christian-Islamic conflict, and a broader still narrative of the tribulations of the true church. However, it also meant that a medieval Christian polemical tradition that described and attacked Islam was appropriated by a new generation of authors and used to describe the Ottoman Turks. This tradition had deep roots stretching back to the earliest Christian accounts of Islam such as that of St John of Damascus (c. 745). It depicted Islam as a heresy, and thereby a diabolically inspired perversion of Christianity, or 'true religion', linking its character and doctrines to the supposed moral infirmities of its false prophet. Permutations of this tradition were the fundamental basis of English accounts of Islam in the early modern period, including the summaries often given in works on the Turks. Dimmock has written extensively on the 'complex process of circulation, interpolation and reproduction'[21] through which this material was disseminated and

reworked in an English context. In particular, early German Protestant accounts of Islam and its prophet, drawing upon medieval material, were influential in England, although English interest in Islam was by no means limited to reformers.[22]

The aftermath of the fall of Buda and collapse of Hungary led to an unprecedented spate of English works on the Turks that drew on material from both religious and historical continental writing. In 1542 there appeared in English a translation of the Swiss reformist writer and theologian Theodore Bibliander's *Ad nominis Christiani socio consultatio, ouanam ratione Turcarum dira potentia repelli possit, ac debeat a populo Christiano* (1542), as *A Godly consultation unto the Brethren and Companyons of the Christen Religyon*, an anti-Islamic polemic calling for spiritual repentance in the face of the Ottoman advance. Bibliander was a central figure in the formation of Protestant ideas about Islam and the Turks. In 1543, a Latin translation of the Koran was printed in Basel at Bibliander's request, prefaced by a 'warning to the reader' by the reformist theologian Philip Melanchthon. The text was taken from the twelfth-century medieval translation of Robert Ketton, part of the so called Cluniac works, written at the behest of Peter the Venerable, which also included Peter of Toledo's translation of the earlier Arabic Christian apologetic work *Risâlat al-Kindî*, and two Latin polemical works by Peter of Cluny himself.[23] Martin Luther himself supported the publication of both Bibliander's Koran, and that of Peter of Cluny's two anti-Islamic polemics.[24] These texts were part of a wider Protestant project to formulate a spiritual and theological response to the Ottoman advance and therefore also Islam, most explicitly stated in Luther's *On War with the Turks* (*Vom Kriege wider die Türken*, 1529).[25]

Bibliander's *A Godly consultation*, which was an English expression of this Continental Reformation discourse, aims to

> open the causes for the which we have kepte warre so unhappely these many yeres with this cruell nation. And how that by oure vyces whyche bragge and cracke in vayne the moste worthy name of Christe/ and have no dedes of holy lyvynge agreable to the same/ the monarchy of Mahumet wyth hys superstytyous and damnable lawe hath growne up after thys terrible maner.[26]

In common with the wider Protestant position stated by Luther and others, and drawing on scriptural precedents such as the biblical Babylonians, Bibliander sees the 'monarchy of Mahumet' as the 'scourge of god'. The Ottoman advance is a divine punishment for

the vices and unchristian behaviour of Christendom, especially of the Church of Rome, and only through repentance and spiritual renewal can this enemy be defeated.

It was not only English translations of continental works that engaged with the Ottoman advance and Christian anti-Islamic polemical tradition in this manner. The evangelical polemicist Thomas Becon's *The New Pollecye of Warre* (1542), written under the pseudonym Theodore Basaille and published by his regular printers John Mayler and John Gough, developed a comparable argument, drawing upon similar reference points.[27] For Becon the 'Nerolyke [i.e. Nero like] Tiraunt y[e] great Turke, that mortall enemy of Christes religion, that destroyer of the christe[n] fayth, that perverter of all good order, that adversary of all godlynes & pure innocency', is but a symptom of wider spiritual sickness. The Turk is both Antichrist and 'the scourge of God to ponish us for our wycked and abhominable lyvynge'. Consequently without spiritual reform the Turks cannot be defeated 'excepte there be some godly remedy found shortely'.[28]

Neither Bibliander nor Becon's texts are histories of the Turks *per se*, though they discuss the contemporary advance of the Ottomans at length. However, both the evangelical debates they engage in and the print contexts in which they were produced overlap substantially with the first generalised description of the Ottoman state and its history to be published in English. *The Order of the Great Turckes Courte* (1542), printed by Richard Grafton, was a translation from the French work *Estat de la court du grant Turc* (1542) by Antoine Geuffroy (d. 1556), a French knight of the Order of St John (Knights of Rhodes).[29] Gueffroy had served against the Turks at the battles of Modon and Coron, and claimed to have lived in Ottoman lands. He seems to also have drawn upon *Libri tre delle Cose de Turchi* (Vinegia, 1539) of Benedetto Ramberti (1503–1546), secretary to the Venetian Senate, and later librarian of Venice's Marciana library, who had also previously served as legation secretary to Contarini and Mocegino in their 1518 joint embassy to the sultan. Drawing on the experience of such well-informed sources the subtitle page of Grafton's English edition promises an account of 'The estate of the courte of y[e] great Turcke. The order of hys armye, & of his yerely revenues' as well as 'a breife rehersal of al conquests and vyctories that the Turckes have had, from the first of that stocke, to this Solyman y[e] great Turcke that nowe reigneth', a remit that goes far beyond any account that had previously appeared in English.

Geuffroy's level of description was new, but this is not the only motivation for this edition. Grafton sought to frame Geuffroy's text

through the device of an added preface to the reader, similar in intent to the letter Melanchthon had provided for Bibliander's Koran. It begins with a scriptural reference to the prophet Jeremiah – to whom the biblical book of Lamentations describing God's punishment of sinful Israel through the Babylonians was then ascribed – which was to become a standard biblical point of reference for accounts of the Ottomans.[30] Having established a providential frame for the events it describes, the preface then advances the argument 'that for our synfull lyvynge and open contempte of Goddes holy woorde, this cruell woolfe [the Turk] hath been suffered so piteouslye to have stained his mouthe with Christian blood'.[31] This assertion is followed by a series of *exempla* from scripture and history showing that god comes to the help of the true believers who 'abhore and deteste … wyckednesse and superstiction'.[32] The argument is most explicitly stated in the conclusion to the preface.

> And yf there bee anye manne that earnestlye doothe not consyder the miseryes and calamiteis of [the] Christian people, let theim reade this lytle treatyse, wherein they shall perceave … whereunto that base and vyle nacyon the Turckes have increased, through oure synnes. Upon the consyderacion wherof they and all other maye be sturred to call upon our heavenlye father, that he wyll sende hys lyvynge spirite amonge us, to woorke true faythe and repentaunce in al mennes heartes to rayse up true preachers of y[e] kyngdome of Christ, to confonnde [the] Antichrist with all his heretiquall and damnable sectes, and to delyver his people from miserable bondage. Amen.[33]

Grafton's preface seeks to frame the meaning of the Ottoman advance – and Gueffroy's text – within an evangelical call for spiritual repentance and religious reform, in terms familiar from the writing of Bibliander and others. However, the fire and brimstone sermonising of the preface then gives way to a comparatively dispassionate (though generally negative) account of the offices of the Ottoman court, state and military, Turkish manners, and an overview of Ottoman dynastic history. The contrast between Grafton's preface and the main text of the translation from Gueffroy is revealing. For Grafton the Ottoman advance is a metaphysical manifestation of divine anger at the corruption and vice of Christendom that can only be assuaged through godly reformation. Despite this, it is also a series of important events and phenomena that are described in detail by the main body of Gueffroy's text – itself part of a growing

and increasingly sophisticated continental discourse on the Ottomans – which Grafton values enough to have translated and printed.

A similar contextualising framework, glossing the significance of the Ottomans and their role in European affairs from an evangelical perspective, is at play in the contemporary news account *A Joyfull New Tidynges* [1544], printed by John Mayler for John Ghough, and 'translated out of Doutche into Englyshe' by Mayler.[34] The text is composed of two tracts describing the Franco–Hapsburg conflict in Italy and the withdrawal of the Ottoman admiral Barbarossa who had wintered at the French port of Toulon. However, Mayler carefully frames the meanings of these events with scriptural quotation and extensive glosses, none of which are present in the Dutch original. The English text begins with an extended quotation from the book of Jeremiah, and continues:

> Our Lorde Jesu Christe y[at] ordeyneth al thynges after his godly wyl … hath now of late begonne to poure oute hys plages upon the Frenche Kynge, as it dayly dothe appeare more & more, and all the cause thereof is synne & unrighteousenesse.[35]

Only once this scriptural and providential framework is established does Mayler proceed to the events described in the original, which he glosses repeatedly to reinforce his argument. The events themselves are complex. The Italian War of 1542–1546 was the latest episode of the long standing conflict between Francis I of France and Emperor Charles V over territorial claims in Italy (notably Milan), and had led both sides to form alliances. Francis I renewed his anti-Hapsburg *entente* with the Ottoman Empire, as a consequence of which the Ottoman admiral Barbarossa participated in a joint attack on the imperial city of Nice in 1543, and the Ottoman fleet wintered at Toulon 1543–1544. Charles V for his part made an alliance with Henry VIII, leading to a joint invasion of France in May 1544, although this lasted only briefly as Francis I and Charles V made peace through the Treaty of Crépy (18 September 1544), leaving the English to face the French alone, and straining Anglo–Imperial relations considerably.

The *New Tidynges* appeared in the brief period where Charles V and Henry VIII were both at war with Francis I (i.e. May–September 1544). Its language combines anti-French war propaganda with the strong religious sentiments of its translator/publishers. The gist of Mayler's text is that Francis I's defeat in Italy is God's punishment for repeatedly 'despysyng of hys word and for hys wycked lyvynge',[36] and further breaking truces with Charles V while entering into 'the moost

wycked & ungodlyest co[n]sedaracio[n] y[at] ever was hard beyng betwene an Heathan Tyraunt & one y[at] hath take[n] upo[n] him to be the moste Christen Kynge'[37] (i.e. Francis's alliance with the Ottoman sultan and cooperation with Barbarossa). Mayler's rhetoric closely echoes the language of Henry VIII's declaration of war on Francis I in 1543, which explicitly links the conflict to the Franco–Ottoman alliance as well as Francis I's failure to pay Henry pensions due to him:

> [T]he frenche kynge, omittynge the dutie and office of a good christen prynce (whiche is moche to be lamented) hath not onely by a longe time and season ayded the great Turke, common ennemye to christendome, and also by sundry wayes and meanes encouraged procured and incited, and dayly procureth the sayde Turke, to arrayse and assemble greate armies and forces of warre, to enter and invade the same.[38]

The rhetoric of the *New Tidynges* is very much in step with Tudor anti-French propaganda. However, its condemnation of Francis I is also couched in terms familiar from the Reformist works of figures such as Becon or Grafton's preface:

> What shuld a man saye to this wycked Kynge, whome the Bysshop of Rome callethe the mooste Christen Kynge, but hys deades declare hym to be the mooste un-Christian Kynge, lyke as the Bysshoppe of Romes worckes declare hym to be very Antechriste. For these two … hath taken upo[n] them the name of Christen Rulers, but yet ther be nomen moore agaynste Christes doctrine and his flocke then these men are.[39]

The standard identification between the Pope and the Turk as the Antichrist is here extended to Francis I. It is not only his Catholicism that makes him 'the mosste un-Christian Kynge', but also his unholy alliance with the Turk that sets him 'agaynste Christes doctrine and his flocke'. Mayler argues that Francis I is being punished by God for his 'synne & unrighteousenesse', as a consequence of which his armies have been defeated in Italy, and his allies are abandoning him, as is shown by Barbarossa's departure from Toulon.

The reformist agenda at play in the *New Tidynges* and *The Order of the Great Turckes Courte*, and its connection to more explicitly evangelical works such as *The New Pollecye of Warre* or *A Godly Consultation*, is underlined by the religious commitments of the printers and translators

who produced these works. *New Tidynges* was produced by Mayler and Gough 'one of the more notoriously protestant printer–publisher teams',[40] who were the regular publishers of Thomas Becon (including *The New Pollecye of Warre*). Their outspokenness frequently led to trouble with the authorities: Gough was arrested in 1528 for supplying heretical books; in 1532 for publishing 'the Confession of the citie of Geneva'; in 1540 as part of the purge of heretics following the Act of Six Articles; in 1541 for a ballad posthumously defending Thomas Cromwell; and in 1543 alongside other reformist printers 'for printing off such bokes as wer thought to be unlawfull'.[41]

A second publishing partnership that played a leading role in printing early English material on the Turks was Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, and again both of these men were committed reformists. Working for their patron Thomas Cromwell, Grafton and Whitchurch had published both the Mathew Bible and Great Bible in at least six editions over the years 1539–1541. Whitchurch later married the widow of the martyred Thomas Cranmer. Grafton, 'whose sometime incautious combination of reformist commitment and commercial activity made him one of the most eye-catching evangelicals of the period',[42] was more outspoken. Following Cromwell's execution he was arrested for both surreptitiously publishing a William Gray ballad posthumously defending Cromwell, and translating Melanchthon's attack on the Act of Six Articles – which Grafton later famously dubbed the 'whip with six strings'.[43] Both Grafton and Whitchurch were also arrested along with Gough and Mayler in 1540 and 1543.[44] Grafton went on the become King's printer under Edward VI, a position he then lost under Mary.

Alec Ryrie has observed that the general persecution of evangelicals, and in particular printers, following the execution of Cromwell in 1540 led to 'a remarkable if short-lived, strain of moderate reformist printing which cautiously pressed for continued reform while remaining within the law' and it is in this light that the above texts on the Turks ought to be understood.[45] It is a striking fact that virtually all the major accounts of the Ottomans printed in England in the 1540s were produced by what might be characterised as a small clique of printers, booksellers, and translators who shared strong reformist principles, who associated together, and many of whom had in fact been arrested *en masse*. To the figures of Mayler, Gough, Grafton, and Whitchurch (who I shall come to), I might add the Antwerp printer Matthias Crom, who had earlier printed the Matthew Bible for Grafton and Whitchurch and who was responsible for printing the *A Godly Consultation*. The Ottoman Turks provided a weighty and supposedly secular topic, one of intrinsic topical

interest, yet also heavy with polemical connotations. The spectacular Ottoman advance of the early-sixteenth century, which culminated in the collapse of the kingdom of Hungary and the final taking of Buda in 1541, stimulated interest in continental accounts of the Turks. However, these same accounts also allowed reformist printers of the period to continue producing a religiously committed output, by framing texts describing the Ottoman advance with prefaces laden with evangelical rhetoric. This strategy was not without risk however, and the number of attribution irregularities of these texts may well be significant. *A Godly Consultation unto the Brethren and Companyons of the Christen Religyon* states 'Printed at Basill: By Radulphe Bonifante' when it was actually printed at Antwerp by Matthias Crom, while *The New Pollecye of Warre* was written by Thomas Becon under the psuedonym 'Theodore Basaille'.[46]

Paolo Giovio

I have argued that the accounts of Ottoman expansion produced by Grafton, Mayler, and Gough were all shaped by the context of the religious upheavals of Henry VIII's reign, but they also had shared origins as translations of continental works depicting the Turks. They were reprinted in England because of interest in the Ottomans stimulated by their dramatic expansion into and involvement in Europe, as well as the associations that the 'Turk' came to have as a figure in religious and political polemic. It was the interplay of these elements that characterised the English manifestations of these accounts and allowed their translators and publishers to gesture significantly towards their English circumstances and religious commitments. The use of continental works – themselves part of a developing discourse describing Turkish history – as a vehicle to articulate English concerns and sub-contexts, while also providing detailed accounts of the Ottomans responding to their European advance, is a dynamic that occurs frequently in early English historical publishing on the Turks. However, it is especially pronounced in the contrast between two English translations of one of the most frequently printed early sixteenth-century European works on this topic: Paolo Giovio's *Commentario de la cose de Turchi*.

This work was exceedingly widely read and influential throughout Europe, and to appreciate the significance of its translation into English, I must first attend to the original context in which it was written and the numerous subsequent continental editions it went through. The *Commentario* was dedicated to Charles V on 22 January 1531, but probably first published in Rome in 1532 by Giovio's regular publisher,

Antonio Blado. It was written in the context of Charles V's papally supported, but unsuccessful, attempts to organise a crusade in Hungary, following the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1529.[47] Historian, sometime papal courtier, and Bishop of Nocerca, Giovio was no reformer. Although his writing occasionally cast papal policy in an unfavourable light he had little sympathy for the Lutherans and their doctrinal innovations. Further, having been personal physician to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (the future Pope Clement VII) from 1517, and retaining aspirations to the Bishopric of Como (a position denied to him by Pope Paul III in 1549), he was a figure closely linked to both the papacy and imperial court.

Like Ramberti's *Libri tre delle cose de Turchi* (1539) and Gueffory's *Estat de la court du grant Turc* (1542), Giovio's *Commentario* was part of an increasingly sophisticated early-sixteenth-century continental discourse of Turkish history. Like those works it was succinct, written in vernacular and accessible language (in contrast to the Latin orations of an earlier generation), and incorporated accepted scholarly truisms about the Turks with first or second-hand contemporary reports. All of these works gave overviews of the history of the Turks in ways that were already becoming deeply generic in content, form, and language. The *Commentario* begins with a brief account of the origins of the Turks, moves on to the main text describing the dynastic history of the Ottomans organised around the lives of Sultans, and ends with a short summary of Ottoman military organisation with observations about how best a war against them is to be managed.

Giovio's historical overview, written to support the papally-endorsed crusade of his patron Charles V, was an exceptionally popular and influential work. It survives in at least twenty-four editions or printings in Italian, Latin, French, German, English, Spanish, and Czech. Versions were printed in Rome, Venice, Wittenberg, Strasbourg, Antwerp, Paris, Basel, Augsburg, London, Barcelona, and Prague.[48] After numerous Italian printings in the 1530s, the *Commentario* was translated into Latin as *Turcicarum rerum* by Francessco Negri, an Italian protestant exile living and working in Strasbourg, and printed in September 1537 by Wendelin Rihel, who had previously published Bucer and Luther and went on to become Calvin's regular publisher 1539–1546.[49] Though a reformist agenda is not explicit in Negri's translation the Turk figured prominently in his later writing as a polemical equivalent of both the Antichrist and the Pope.[50] The same year a new printing appeared in Wittenburg, this time with a preface by the eminent protestant theologian Melanchthon, printed by Joseph Klug.[51] Klug was probably also

responsible for the 1538 printing of a German translation by prominent reformer and legal scholar Jonas Justus, with the main text not only preceded by Melanchthon's preface, but also followed by Luther's preface to the earlier work *Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum* (1530).[52] The prefatory letters to the Wittenberg editions are part of a wider project amongst prominent German reformers to formulate a spiritual and theological response to the ongoing Ottoman advance in this period, which as discussed include Luther's prolific writing on the Turk and Bibliander's Latin Koran. Despite being written by a Bishop and containing an exhortation to crusade, it seems that Giovio's text could be appropriated as part of this discourse, at least once suitably reframed for the reader through paratextual material.

Further editions of Negri's Latin translation appeared in Paris (two printings in 1538, and one each in 1539 and 1559), and Antwerp (1538), while the work also appeared in French (separate translations in 1538 and 1540), Czech (1540), and Spanish (1543). However, unlike the Wittenberg editions, these did not seek to reframe Giovio's text in a confessional context – instead retaining his original dedication to Charles V. The *Commentario* also survives in two very different contemporary English translations, one printed by Richard Grafton's partner the Edward Whitchurch, and the second a manuscript translation by Henry Parker Lord Morely, given to Henry VIII as a New Year's present. These two English translations reflect the dynamic of reframing and appropriation I have observed in some of the continental editions, but this tendency manifests itself in ways that reflect the specific English contexts in which they appeared.

In 1546 Whitchurch printed a translation by Peter Ashton titled *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes chronicles*. As noted previously, Whitchurch was a committed reformer who had been arrested repeatedly following the execution of his patron Cromwell. The translation includes an epistle dedicated to Sir Ralph Sadler, a prominent administrator who had been a protégé of Cromwell. In the wake of Cromwell's execution Sadler had managed to retain his position at court and by 1546 was Master of the Kings Wardrobe, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and a member of the Privy Counsel. Presumably Whitchurch hoped Sadler might prove sympathetic and offer protection in a difficult time. The epistle pragmatically highlights the topicality of the Ottomans but also serves as vehicle for reformist rhetoric:

> For truly as the case standeth even now, there is no history that ought (in my judgment) rather to be loked in & knowen … that

> hereby, we may take good occasion bothe to learne their gyle, and policies, in awuter we have hereafter to do with them &, also to amend our owen turkische and synfull lyves, seying that God, of his infynite goodnes & love towarde us, sufferethe the wicked and cursed seed of Hismael to be a scourge to whip us for our synnes, & by this means to cal us home agayne.[53]

The allusion to 'awuter we have hereafter to do with them' is interesting not only as it implies that knowledge of this powerful Empire was an end unto itself in 1540s England but also that England might indeed 'have hereafter to do with them', as the French already did by this period. However, this injunction sits alongside reformist rhetoric calling for Christian repentance, and the characterisation of 'synfull lyves' as 'turkishe', which is a common feature of 'the Turk' as a rhetorical image in Reformation debates. Although Ashton's translation follows Giovio's main text, he notes that

> I have my selfe set certayne notes in y[e] margent drawen out of other good & faythful authours wryting on the same matter, so y[at] it may more certainly apere to be a true and faithful historie, seinge that other good & approved authours, agre fully to the same.[54]

In particular Ashton frequently cites 'Cuspin.', that is, Johannes Cuspinianus, *De Turcorum origine, religione, ac immanissima eorum in Christianos tyrannid* (Antwerp, 1541). He also refers to 'Berletius' (Marin Barleti), 'Frocert' (i.e. Froissart) and even 'Joh[n]nes Caryon' (the astrologer and author of the popular *Chronica*, a text later rewritten by Melanchthon and which became central to Lutheran millenarian thought). On occasions the annotations are so copious that they threaten to overwhelm Giovio's text entirely, notably in the early life of Mehmed II and descriptions of the siege of Constantinople, where Giovio does not seem to be sufficiently bloodthirsty for Ashton's taste. Ashton also adds an incongruous section 'which I have my selfe red i[n] other lerned & wel approved autours, as touching the Sophy & his religion', presenting him as a crypto-Christian platonic philosopher king.[55] Ashton's attempts to synthesise this material poignantly emphasise the paucity of detailed accounts of the Turks available in 1540s England.

Ashton was not the first Englishman to translate the *Commentario*. A manuscript titled 'Commentarys of the Turke', executed in a beautiful hand on very fine paper, was given by Henry Parker, Lord Morley, to Henry VIII as a New Year gift, and can be dated to between the years

1536–1541 by Henry's given titles.[56] Parker, a minor figure at court and man of letters, made a habit of dedicating his own translations of books to noble patrons. He was an essentially conservative and orthodox figure, supportive of the king in his assertion of independence from Rome, but by no means an evangelical or doctrinal radical, occupied primarily with balancing his support for the king and his family connections (notably to the Boleyns) in the turbulent and fractious world of court faction and patronage.[57] Parker's dedication is pregnant with a sense of overbearing Ottoman power:

> For who so considreth the greate force and myght of thiese people and the innum[er]able threasure that the turke hathe wyll mervell though I say not onely Italy but Fraunce adioynyde with Spayne and all christendo[m] besyde is abyll to withstande hys infynyte power. For this saide turke hathe more ryches then all the christen kynges have/ more horses more Artelery then all they can make/ Brefly hys power is so greate by lande and see that it is ownely goddess hande that helpyth hys people against hym…[58]

There is contemporary evidence that the Ottoman conquests of the early to mid-sixteenth century aroused great interest in Henry's court. John Hooker's contemporary manuscript the 'Life of Peter Carew' describes the scene in 1541.

> Not long after this the wars were begun between the Turk and the King of Hungary, and upon that occasion the most common speeches in the court were of the great Turk, and of the royalty of his court, and what a mighty prince he was, and how that he had conquered the strong city of Buda, in Hungary.[59]

Indeed Carew himself was so intrigued by the Turk that he sought Henry VIII's permission to travel to the continent to observe these events, and at length returning found that of all his traveller's tales

> nothing was more liked than the description of the Turk's Court and the manner of his wars, which the more rare, the more delectable and pleasant they were both to the king and nobility to be heard.[60]

Evidently, Parker had picked a topic both 'delectable' and 'rare' for his translation. However, contemporary English understanding of the Turks was also intimately related to their perceived spiritual and moral

significance, and Parker naturally turns to scriptural references to frame these events.

> For thys turk not withoute cause is lyke to that Dragon that with hys tayle as saincte John wryteth in the Apocalipps pulleth unto hym the three parts of the hevyn. Whiche is to meane the three parts of the greate worlde/ And by hys so greate power sekythe for noone other thynge but onely to have the Reste. And to brynge all the worlde to a monarchy, but with goddess helpe he shall fayle of his pervers and frowarde wyll for emongest other moste christene kynges god hathe electe yo[ur] moste Royall p[er]sone/ not onely to be victoriouse of yo[ur] ennemyes but also made youe defendo[r] of the feithe and the verey true setter forthe of hys moste holy and dyvyne wo[r]de.[61]

Parker compulsively invokes the apocalyptic Dragon, world monarchy, and the end of days to describe Ottoman expansion into Europe.[62] However, unlike for Whitchurch and Grafton these familiar scriptural points of reference do not become a call for either general repentance or spiritual reform. Avoiding any explicit critique of the state of the world as inappropriate in a dedication to a king, Parker instead uses the *topos* of Ottoman advance, apocalyptic imagery, and Christian division for flattery. He does this by asserting Henry's precedence over Francis I through a somewhat forced pun on the latter's title the 'Most Christian King', before playing on Henry's usual appellations 'the most victorious' and 'defender of the faith'. This fawning is far distant from the radical Whitchurch, or his business partner Grafton, who was an outspoken if occasional critic of the Henrician regime. While Whitchurch wishes to awaken Christians to the need to unify in repentance and reform in the face of God's punishment for their sins, Morley's obsequious dedication imagines Henry's implausibly impeccable morals as an instrument of Christian unity:

> I thoughte itt expedyent to translate thys Booke oute of the Italion in to oure maternall tonge. That when it shulde please yo[ur] exellent mageste for yo[ur] recreation and pastyme to see itt that yo[ur] hyghe wysdome myght counsell with other christen kynges for a remedye agaynste so perlouse an ennemye to oure feythe. And I darre say so holy so noble and so graciouse a hart have youe: that yf all the Rest wolde folow your holsome ways all civill warres shulde sesse ande onely they with youe moste christen kynge as the chef of theim all shulde brynge thys turke to confusion.[63]

The commonplace notion of a divided Christendom becomes fodder for Parker's anodyne fantasy of Henry's precedence over other rulers, especially Francis I. While interest in the Ottomans is spurred by their recent conquests and the continental writing that developed as a response, this impulse intersects with English depictions of the 'Turk' as a matter of religious, spiritual, and political significance, and a courtier's desire to flatter his monarch and reinforce his position at court through literary patronage. Both Whitchurch's edition and Parker's manuscript frame Giovio's text with paratextual material that relates the text and its subject to their own agendas and audiences. While their aims are divergent, they manipulate a strikingly similar common ground of imagery and ideas, drawing on a recognisable body of scriptural models to frame Giovio's text, emphasising the divisions of Christendom, and connecting the Ottoman advance to the end of days.

The various translations, editions, and printings of the *Commentario*, which appeared across Europe in the decades following its first publication, are testament to both the importance of its topic in mid-sixteenth-century Europe, and the popularity of Giovio as an author. All of these versions are in some sense a response to the Ottoman expansion in Europe; however, they also show that the *significance* of that advance could be framed by varied interpretations in different contexts. The dissemination of Giovio's tract in England, where detailed information on the Turk was both rare and in demand, is part of a wider pattern of the development and spread of a European discourse of Turkish history that was to shape English accounts of the Ottomans throughout the early modern period. Giovio's central place in this developing continental discourse is underlined by the later English translation of his *Commentario de le cose de Turchi, et del S. Georgio Scanderbeg, principe di Epyrro* (a separate work from the similarly titled earlier *Commentario*), published alongside Andrea Cambini's *Commentario de Andrea Cambini della origine de Turchi*, under the title *Two very notable commentaries* (1562).[64]

It should, however, not be assumed that translation into English was a driving factor of dissemination in England of either Giovio's works or continental writing on the Turks more generally. For example, Giovio's works are well represented in both Latin and Italian in university collections and early library catalogues, most of the numerous later English authors who cite them reference Latin or Italian titles, and Whitchurch's translation was not reprinted and survives in few copies. While these facts are indicative rather than definitive, it seems likely that educated and wealthy Englishmen of the sixteenth century, many

of whom spoke Italian, Latin, or French, would have turned primarily to continental works when they wished to be informed of the Turks. The lasting importance of the English translations of Giovio is then not that they opened this text up to an English audience, but rather that they reflect the extent of contemporary English engagement with the topic of the Turks, and the developing continental literature describing their history and recent conquests. Although the extent, and printed volume, of this engagement increased throughout the sixteenth century, albeit slowly and sporadically, it was not until the Ottoman–Hapsburg conflicts of the end of that century that English authors began to synthesise continental writing into more distinctively original and English accounts of the Turks.

2
Conflict, News, and History

The years of the Ottoman–Hapsburg 'Long War' of 1593–1606 brought an unprecedented flood of English publishing on the Turks.[1] A substantial portion of this material either directly describes, or explicitly refers to, the events of this conflict. For example, of the fifty-four items on the topic of the Turks recorded in the years 1591 to 1610 in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London (i.e., the Stationers' Register, a forerunner of copyright where printers and booksellers paid to record their exclusive right to produce copies of a work as a form of trade protection), twenty-two relate either directly to the Long War, the state of Hungary, or Ottoman–Habsburg conflict, while numerous others allude to contemporary events.[2] However, while the surge in English writing on the Turks in these decades was, as we shall see, largely due to the scale, importance, and proximity of these events, this escalation was also affected to some extent by a steady increase in the volume of printing in England across the late-sixteenth century, as well as developments in pamphlet news as a print genre.[3] This chapter focuses primarily upon news and history, two categories of material that were particularly prominent amongst print responses to the Long War. The central theme is how continental material was transmitted into England, but also how it was received and reworked within distinctly English contexts, specifically the print market for news, and the patronage relationships depended on by many scholars, and how these production and print contexts shaped this material.

Following a brief survey of mid-century English publishing on the Turks I will turn to news pamphlets reporting the Long War and the context in which they appeared. The contemporary news market was dominated by foreign news, or reports of English involvement on the continent, rather than domestic affairs.[4] The form, content, and market

for this class of pamphlets were evolving rapidly in England in the 1580s and 1590s.[5] Hence, although news pamphlets were mostly translations derived from one or more continental sources, their English guise was shaped by a localised print context that was in itself in transformation, and by printers who were experimenting with both form and content. I will explore the events of the Long War, and how they were reported in English news pamphlets, but also contextualise this material within the wider evolution of contemporary news pamphleteering.

To tie these themes together I will focus upon the printer and bookseller John Wolfe (d.1601), who published several Long War news pamphlets, but was also a pivotal figure in the development of news publishing at this time, and thereby allows me to situate these items within this larger print context. Wolfe had been a controversial figure earlier in his career, and in the 1580s he had challenged the authority of the Stationers by undermining the system of rights to copy and privileges. However, by 1591 he had become an important member of the Company, holding office, operating several presses, and coming to dominate the domestic market for foreign news.[6] Joad Raymond has identified Wolfe as a key figure in both the expansion of the market for foreign news in England in the 1580s and 1590s, and in the direction in which the material and textual form of news pamphlets evolved, including seriality, physical continuity, heterogeneous content drawing on several sources, and a 'lexicon of news' (e.g. 'A true discourse', 'a true relation', 'true newes', newes from' etc.).[7] Wolfe's pamphlets on the Long War thereby sit at a transitional point in the history of English news; on the one hand they are still heterogeneous in both content and form, while on the other, they are notably more settled into the format, discourse, and market of news, familiar to scholars of later periods, than the occasional and one-off news pamphlets encountered prior to the 1590s.

However, while the mercurial Wolfe certainly specialised in news, this was by no means the limit of his commercial activity, and he also printed, or funded the printing of, several longer travel, geographical, and historical works. As such he is also connected to contemporary historical writing on the Turks, which is the subject of the second half of this chapter. The Long War had aroused an immediate appetite for news, but these events also spurred a desire for longer and more detailed works that gave an account of who the Turks were, where they had come from, and their history. Similarly to news, these were mostly translations derived ultimately from continental accounts, furthermore, just like news, they were also deeply shaped by the English contexts in which they were written, translated, and published. To explore the

contexts in which such works were produced I will begin by examining two works on Turkish history translated by Abraham Hartwell, the secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury John Whitgift (whose works were printed by Wolfe until the death of the latter), and relate these to the scholarly and patronage circles in which Hartwell was operating. From this case study, I will widen the analysis to look at the generally uncontroversial and conservative character of English historical writing on the Turks in this period, relating it to the late-Elizabethan social, religious, and cultural contexts in which it was produced, and contrasting it to the generally more polemical works of the 1540s examined in Chapter 1, and show how, just as with news, English contexts fundamentally shaped the form taken by translations of continental works on the Long War.

Though 1593–1606 is a key period in the development of English writing on the Turks, it was not the first period of European conflict involving the Ottomans to stimulate publishing of either news or longer historical works. Indeed the exceptional volume of the Long War material was simply an intensification of a well-established pattern of conflict generating interest in the Turks in England. Duly, before I turn to this period in detail it is helpful to contextualise it by surveying English print responses to the Ottoman advance into Europe and the Mediterranean in the mid- to late-sixteenth century.

The Ottoman advance and English writing 1565–1592

Following the rapid Ottoman advance into central Europe of the early-sixteenth century, culminating in the first siege of Vienna (1529) and the final capture of Buda (1541), the Hapsburg–Ottoman borderlands settled into a pattern of relative stability. The following half century was characterised by patchwork raiding and informal warfare rather than major campaigns. In the interim, the Ottomans were locked in frequent stubborn conflicts with their eastern Safavid neighbours.[8] In this period naval hostilities in the Mediterranean were the most obvious expression of Ottoman westward expansionism, notably the capture of Rhodes (1522), Spanish capture of Tunis (1535), battle of Jerba (1560), siege of Malta (1565), and the Ottoman–Venetian War (1570–1573). These engagements were an extension of earlier conflicts with Venice over expansion into the eastern Mediterranean, and a natural strategic consequence of the Ottoman conquest of both Constantinople (1453) and Egypt (1517). However, they also reflect the advent of a major Spanish–Ottoman rivalry, fought out through naval clashes and sieges in North

Africa and the central Mediterranean.[9] The Spanish–Ottoman conflict was in turn an important context for the encouragement given by the Ottomans to English and later Dutch merchants trading into the Levant.

As the sixteenth century progressed English publishing on the Turks followed a familiar pattern of short bursts of increased activity related to Ottoman military actions in Europe and the Mediterranean, occurring against an ambient level of general interest (see Introduction). Despite the fact that references to the Turks might occur in almost any genre or context, the overall volume of English publishing on events involving the Turks and their history visibly ebbed, flowed, and sputtered in reaction to renewed conflicts or peace. A conspicuous example of such an event was the unsuccessful Ottoman siege of Malta in 1565, which prompted pamphlet accounts reporting this action, such as *[C]ertayn and tru good nues, fro[m] the syege [o]f the Isle Malta*,[10] and numerous printed Anglican prayer services offering 'thankesgeving for the delyverie of the Isle of Malta'.[11] News of the Turk in the Mediterranean also elicited further English interest into the nature of these invaders. *The ofspring of the house of Ottomanno and officers pertaining to the Greate Turkes court* was an English translation of Bartholemej Georgijevic's *De Turcarum moribus epitome* (1553), a tract informed by that author's long years of experience as a slave following his capture at the battle of Mohács (1526). The translator Hugh Gough's introduction states his purpose:

> [P]onderinge with my selfe this pitifull estate, and lamentable ruyne of Christianitye, I imagined that it did not so become me, as by dutie I was bounde … to reveale and make manifeste unto my countrey men, the nature, disposition, customes, rites, and faithe of those circunsised [*sic*] Infidelles.[12]

English interest in the Turks, their manners, religion, and history, stimulated by their continued incursions into Christian Europe and the Mediterranean was in turn informed by the literature generated by the Ottoman–Hapsburg conflicts of the earlier sixteenth century.[13]

A second notable Mediterranean conflict that prompted the translation of numerous news reports in England was the Venetian war of 1571–1573, in which the Ottomans famously lost their fleet at the battle of Lepanto, but captured the city of Famagusta and with it Cyprus.[14] Similarly to the pamphlets that reported the siege of Malta, these were one-off publications and took heterogeneous forms, lacking any sense of physical continuity, and ranging from *ad hoc* collections of letters to short tracts. The news pamphlet *Letters sent from Venice. Anno. 1571*

Containing the certaine and true newes of the most noble victorie of the Christians over the armie of the great Turke (1571) was an amalgamation of several continental pamphlets concerning Lepanto, and drew on both Italian and French items.[15] A somewhat longer tract, *The true report of all the successe of Famagosta*, by former headmaster of Eton and traveller through Ottoman lands and Cyprus, William Malim, combined a first-hand description of Cyprus with a translated report of the siege of Famagusta taken from an Italian news pamphlet.[16] There are indications that the description of Cyprus was of at least as much interest as the news. The title was entered in the Registers as '*ye discourse of Sypers and Candy*',[17] and later reprinted by Richard Hakluyt in his compilation of English travel accounts and geographical descriptions, presumably because of its description of Cyprus. The urgency of the Turkish threat conveyed in pamphlets such as these, and the impulse to include wider contextualising information on the Turks, was also reflected in Thomas Newton's translation of the Italian Humanist Celio Curione's *A notable historie of the Saracens* (1575). Newton's introduction to this 'historicall Discourse of Saracens, Turks and other Reprobates of the same stampe', warns that the Turks were not only 'neere under our noses' but 'even at our doores and ready to come into our Houses'.[18] However, while exceptional events such as Malta, Lepanto, and Famagusta sparked both pamphlets and longer geographical *cum* historical works, English publications on the Turks were still essentially piecemeal and sporadic.

Military conflict was not the only stimulus to English interest in the Turks. As I shall explore in Chapter 4 the English Levant trade began in earnest in the 1580s, with William Harborne's negotiations of formal trade capitulations in 1580 (ratified 1583).[19] Though various documentary accounts of this early diplomacy and trade survive, it was not until later that the budding Anglo–Ottoman relationship began to shape wider English writing on the Turks.[20] Nevertheless, the English were not the first European nation to maintain economic and diplomatic ties with the Ottomans, and the 1580s saw the translation and publication of a number of first-hand narratives by continental travellers and diplomats, which included general descriptions of the Turks manners, recent events, and even descriptions of diplomatic engagement with European nations. These included *Straunge News from Constantinople*, a translation of one of a series of German news reports by the traveller Franz von Billerbeg,[21] the *Itinerario a Costantinopoli* (1585) of the Italian Marcantonnio Pigafetta,[22] and the celebrated *Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, made into Turkie* (1585) of Nicolas de Nicolay – a French royal geographer who had accompanied the ambassador Gabriel

d'Aramon to the Ottoman court in 1551.[23] The last of these publications was notable for its numerous engravings, and it was a lavishly illustrated volume by contemporary English standards.[24] The mid to late-sixteenth century therefore brought a range of English publications on the Turks – mostly translated from continental material – peaking sporadically but noticeably in times of conflict, but also including several accounts informed by European trade and diplomacy with the Ottomans. However, the volume of these publications pales in comparison with the unprecedented wave of English writing on the Turks sparked by the renewal of war between the Ottoman and Hapsburg Empires in central Europe in 1593–1606.

News of the Long War 1593–1606

In 1592 mutual border raiding and a large-scale incursion into Croatia by the forces of the Ottoman Governor of Bosnia Hasan Paşa escalated into war with the capture of the fortress of Bihac.[25] Hasan Paşa had acted without central support or troops, and the Ottoman court was divided between pro- and anti-war factions. Following the reappointment of the pro-war Koca Sinan Paşa as Grand Vizier, the forces of Hasan Paşa laid siege to the fortress of Sisak in Croatia,[26] but were defeated in June 1593 and Hasan was killed.[27] The result was a full-scale Ottoman offensive. An Ottoman army departed from the capital for the borderlands and the Ottoman and Hapsburg states stumbled into a formal state of war. The conflict that began in this piecemeal fashion ground on for thirteen years until the military stalemate resulted in the peace treaty of Zsitvatorok in 1606.

The border raiding and escalating hostilities of 1592–1593 were reported in England in a pamphlet printed for John Wolfe titled *A true discourse wherin is set downe the wonderfull mercy of God, shewed towardes the Christians … before Syssek in Croatia* (1593), a translation of the German *Soli deo gloria. Newe Zeittung warer erhaltenen und erlangten Victori*.[28] The pamphlet itself is a short six pages of quarto, giving a rather matter-of-fact account of the prelude and actions of the battle of Sisak, headed with a title page bearing Wolfe's mark, and ending with list of the numbers of Hasan Paşa's army. Following its German source the English pamphlet was aware of the origins of the battle in border conflict, and blamed the Ottoman invasion on 'that Christian enemie, and Common violator of peace *Hassam Bassa* of *Bossna*'. Though the events reported in news pamphlets were often couched in pejorative and oppositional language, they also transmitted detailed and informed

accounts to English readers, which may well have helped to stimulate the kind of detailed interest in the Turks and their history, which I shall turn to later. *A true discourse* also illustrates the channels through which European news could be disseminated in England. The battle of Sisak occurred on the 22 June 1593, and it is likely that the *Newe Zeittung* appeared shortly after. Three months later, on 14 September 1593 two German accounts of the battle of Sisak were entered by Wolfe in the Registers. The first of these, *A true discourse*, was printed by Wolfe, while the second, a 'balled of *ye overthroe of the turke*', was turned over to Thomas Creede 14 November.[29] The salient point here is that Wolfe still thought it worthwhile to pay to register his ownership of June's news in the Registers in September, and as late as November to pass on a news ballad to Creede (who in 1593 had just taken on his own premises after operating as a journeyman printer). The Register entries show both the length of time that it took for continental news to reach England, and the resulting breadth of the window in which such 'news' might be considered current enough to print.[30] Wolfe's stock in trade was printing continental works, and he had established commercial links with Italy and the Frankfurt book fairs, which suggests that it may have been through these contacts that he obtained some of his material for translation.[31] Accounts of border struggles with the Turks travelled from the Balkans and Hungary into Italy and Germany where they were turned into broadsheets, in turn circulating and being translated in France, the Netherlands, and at length England. Alternatively Mediterranean or North African news might pass through France to England (just as Wolfe had earlier printed numerous French pamphlets on the Wars of Religion). The lengths to which English printers were willing to go to obtain news for translation are testament to the desire of contemporary English readers for such material.

The ongoing Ottoman–Hapsburg conflict elicited numerous further English news pamphlets by Wolfe and others. In addition to extant items the Registers of the Stationers Company provide a valuable source of documentation. Entering an item in these Registers recorded a Stationers exclusive right to print that copy, for which a fee was paid to the Company. Though items listed in the Registers were not necessarily printed (most seem to have been), entrance is evidence that owning exclusive rights to copy was perceived to have value. Because of the low survival rates of ephemeral material such as news pamphlets, the Registers are a valuable record of non-extant Long War pamphlets. Taking extant copies and records from the Register together we have twenty-six news pamphlets relating to the Long War

(up to 1606), of which five are by Wolfe (who died in 1601).[32] The volume of news on the Turks that was being printed by Wolfe and others was unprecedented, and contrasts starkly to the handful of extant pamphlets on, for instance, the siege of Malta (1565).

Wolfe's Long War pamphlets included diverse kinds of material. *The estate of Christians, living under the subjection of the Turke and also the warres betweene the Christians and the Turke, beginning 1592 and continuing till the end of 1593* (1595) was a pamphlet in two parts in which news sat alongside contextualising information.[33] The first part was a general account of the Turkish taking of Christian captives and the practice of *devşirme*, almost certainly extracted from Georgijevic, while the second was a news report of the early stages of the Long War, up to December 1593.[34] Wolfe entered a further two pamphlets on the Long War in the Registers. The first was *A letter sente by Amorathe the great Turke to Christendome*, presumably an apocryphal letter from the Sultan.[35] The second was *The seconde parte of a historye of the lowe countries … wherein is discoursed the worthiest things tha[t] have benne donne by the Turkes and Hungarians from … 1591 until the end of the year 1597*, an appendix to a longer history of the Low Countries.[36] Wolfe's Long War pamphlets are therefore somewhat miscellaneous, despite the notable continuity in physical form many of them display. They included not only the more familiar news form of a report of specific events, but summary accounts drawing on several such reports, an excerpt from Georgijevic's well-regarded treatise, a spurious letter from a Sultan, and even a ballad, all of which seem to be translations of continental material.

The pamphlets of Wolfe and his contemporaries were generic, giving matter-of-fact accounts of military campaigns preoccupied with details of manoeuvres and engagements, and lists of casualties or prisoners. Nonetheless, their portrayals of conflict were also often vivid and the Turks were painted starkly in opposition to Christendom. However, while such black-and-white images abounded in times of conflict it is worth reading them with two caveats. Firstly these pamphlets were largely translations, and their antagonistic approach to the Turks was transmitted from continental material (though it is likely they shaped the opinions of readers). For example, while *True Newes of a notable victorie* memorably describes the Ottomans as 'the outragious Enemie of Christendome', this is a fairly straight translation of the original German 'der grausame Feind dess Christlichen namens',[37] and for this reason we should be cautious in interpreting these statements as straightforwardly reflecting English sentiments. Secondly, reports of the Long War should be read as part of a genre of war reporting that was

developing in late-sixteenth-century England. Pamphlets on the Long War share central features – intensity, contrasts to England's happy estate, calls to action, scriptural and religious framing, reports of miracles and the heroism of commanders, as well as lingering on the brutality and misery of war – which all also characterised wider war reporting, notably that on the French Wars of Religion, in which Wolfe had also been heavily involved.[38] Keeping these factors in mind we should not be too quick to dismiss this kind of news pamphlets as simply anti-Turk propaganda. Early modern warfare was a brutal affair and news accounts reflected this whether the protagonists were Turks or not.

It should be emphasised that the Long War news pamphlets are as much part of the wider evolution of an English market for foreign news – in their rhetoric as well as volume and form – as part of the growth of English writing on the Turks. Again the figure of John Wolfe, so central to these parallel developments, is instructive. It is probably true that interest in the events of Long War encouraged Wolfe to print both news and longer histories about the Turks. However, these works must be viewed in the context of Wolfe's wider publications and do not mean that he particularly specialised in publishing on the Turks. A large part of Wolfe's business was making continental texts available in England – for example, he was the most prolific printer of Italian works in England in the 1580s and 1590s, including the first editions of Machiavelli printed in England – and his output contained many travel accounts and geographical volumes. Publishing news of the Turk, and indeed foreign news in general, was only one part of Wolfe's portfolio, much of which concerned the wider world. The breadth of Wolfe's stock is quaintly illustrated in Gabriel Harvey's *A new letter of notable contents* addressed to (and printed by) Wolfe, which ends with a 'sonet Gorgon, or the wonderfull yeare' enumerating news titles then stocked by Wolfe.

> Wonders enhaunse their powre in numbers odd:
> The fatall yeare of yeares is *Ninety Three*:
> *Parma* hath kist; *De-maine* entreates the rodd:
> Warre wondereth, *Peace and Spaine in Fraunce to see*:
> Brave *Eckenberg*, the dowty *Bassa* Shames:
> The Christian *Neptune*, Turkish *Vulcane* tames.
> *Navarre* wooes *Roome*: *Charlmaine* gives *Guise* to the *Rhy*
> Weepe Powles, thy *Tamberlaine* Voutsafes to dye[39]

The protagonists of this verse all feature in pamphlets by Wolfe. *The chiefe occurences of both the armies* (1592), reports news of Parma, while

A proposition … propounded to the Duke of Mayenne (1593) concerns De Maine. As we have seen, Eckenberg's victory at Sisak – where much of the Turkish force, including Hasan the 'dowty *Bassa*', drowned in a river ('The Christian *Neptune*, Turkish *Vulcane* tames') – was reported in *A true discourse wherin is set downe the wonderfull mercy of God*. Harvey's doggerel rhyme moves from news of the Turks to other European conflicts without skipping a beat, dressing up their details in the costume of mildly incongruous classical references. Similarly, in Wolfe's pamphlets news reports from across the globe often sat alongside each other, jostling for the reader's attention, as they did in *Newes lately come on the last day of Februarie 1591 from divers partes of France, Savoy, and Tripoli in Soria* (1591).[40] However, while news of the Long War should be read as part of a wider growth in foreign news publishing in the period, it also stimulated, and, as we shall see, on occasion informed the English historical literature that evolved in direct response to the interest created by these events.

Historical authors, patronage, and the Long War

The miscellaneous variety of pamphlets on the Long War, and the mix of detailed and generalised information that many of them contained, both hint at a market in England for longer, more systematic treatments of the Turks. Many authors and translators of such longer works explicitly linked their texts to contemporary conflict, perhaps reacting to the widespread reporting of news of the Long War. Ralph Carr presented his *Mahumetane or Turkish history* (1600) as 'telling of ensewing danger, not much devided fro[m] our owne doores, when daylie we lamentably see our neighbours houses not farre of flaming'.[41] The anonymous author of *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* (1597) described the threat posed by the Ottomans in memorably florid style:

> the terrour of their name doth even now make the kings and Princes of the West, with the weake and dismembred reliques of their kingdomes and estates, to tremble and quake through the feare of their victorious forces.[42]

Neither are these the only contemporary examples; Abraham Hartwell's appraisal of the Turkish threat was equally dramatic and lurid:

> the Turkes growe so huge and infinite … [that] I feare greatly that the halfe Moone which now ruleth & raigneth almost over all the East,

> wil grow to the full, and breede such an Inundation as will utterly drowne al Christendome in the West.[43]

While these kinds of rhetorical allusions to Ottoman expansion and the threat to Christendom were common in works of the period, even passing mentions of the growing English trade are few and far between. The majority of English writing on the Turks in this period continued to be informed by continental writing and conflict rather than English diplomatic or economic contact with the Ottoman Empire. However, these scholars and the books that they produced were still shaped indelibly by the English circumstances in which they wrote and published.

The material produced in the boom of the 1593–1606 ranged from news and short pamphlets, to long chronicle style histories, and geographical or political treaties, but also included ballads, plays, and other formats, including both translations of continental works and English originals.[44] References to the Turks or events in Hungary might occur in virtually any context, but amongst the longer accounts historical writing was particularly prominent. In contrast to the works of the 1540s (see Chapter 1), those of 1593–1606 are hard to pigeonhole ideologically. This is in part because these later publications are more heterogeneous, and appear over a period both longer in duration, and more productive in terms of press output. However, it is also because the features that they share are less striking and obvious; works of this later period are generally conservative in their regard and respect for the state and religious establishment and its ideology, and conventional in their adherence to the precedents set by their source material. Such antecedents included the polemical tradition regarding Islam, the continental discourse of Turkish history, and commonplace tropes and images through which the Turks were often depicted, and to a certain extent these publications inherited their conservatism and conventionality from their continental source material. Furthermore, in periods of conflict, such as the Long War, authors tended to focus on black and white contrasts between the Turks and Christendom, which served to paper over the obvious religious and political cracks in the latter. However, while both of these trends are certainly present, they are not enough to account for the religious and political quietism of the Long War material. Several earlier accounts were written in times of conflict and drew upon continental sources, and yet managed to muster plenty of colourful polemic. For instance, the works of the 1540s were written in a time of conflict, and drew upon continental sources, while the later second edition of John Foxe's *Actes and Monmuments* (1577), which contained

a lengthy and highly charged account of the Turks, was also based upon European sources.[45] Rather, the generally conservative character of 1593–1606 historical writing on the Turks reflects the religious and socio-historical contexts of its authors. In particular the uncontroversial nature of these accounts reflect the attempts of relatively minor literary figures, such as the scholars Abraham Hartwell and John Pory, to use the dedication of detailed and lengthy accounts of the topical subject of the Turks and their Empire to enter the patronage circles of prominent public figures, or to maintain such relationships.

In contrast to the shifting sands of the 1540s, the late years of Elizabeth I's reign were a period of comparative religious stability. Following the upheavals of the brief reigns of Edward VI and Mary I, the Elizabethan religious settlement was embodied in the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy in 1559 and the Thirty Nine Articles passed in convocation in 1563, though not made statutory law till 1571. Initially Elizabeth's bishops, many of them previously Marian exiles, were notably more radical than the somewhat conservative queen. However, by the late years of her reign, Elizabeth's bishops, particularly the long serving John Whitgift (1530/31?–1604), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1583, had become defenders of the establishment against the challenge presented by the puritans and nonconformists, who had replaced the recusants as the source of the greatest critique faced by the church. The aggressive legal response of the Church to criticism was exemplified in the late 1580s in the Marprelate controversy, a pamphlet war of words sparked by a series of illegally printed satirical Presbyterian tracts. English histories of the Turks of this period were written in this comparatively settled religious context, when the most vocal recent challenge to the establishment had come from anonymous and surreptitiously printed tracts. It is perhaps not surprising then that their authors, translators, and printers were less eye-catchingly radical than those of the 1540s.

A prominent figure amongst those writing and translating works on the Turks in England in this period, and one who exemplifies their conservativeness, was Abraham Hartwell. Perhaps best known as secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, Hartwell published two translations of continental texts on the Turks, *The History of the Warres between the Turkes and the Persians* (1595), a translation of Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi's *Historia della guerra fra turchi et persiani* (1587), and *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo* (1603), drawn from Soranzo's Italian original.[46] The first of these items was printed by John Wolfe in 1595, and the second was also entered in the Registers for Wolfe in 1599, although only printed by John Windet following Wolfe's death.[47] As we

shall see by exploring the context in which these works were translated and printed, the connections of Hartwell and Wolfe to the religious and political establishment were reflected in the uncontentious and conventional character of his writing on the Turks.

Hartwell was not simply a translator and secretary to the Archbishop, his patron, but he also held office in the regulation of the print trade. In 1586 a Star Chamber decree placed powers in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to control the print trade by fixing the number of printers, through the Stationers' Company, as well as censoring and overseeing what could be printed. The legislation also gave them punitive sanctions of confiscation and destruction of illegal stock and presses. As it was practicality impossible for the Bishops individually to oversee all books printed in England, much of the work of examining and allowing books was delegated, and Hartwell was amongst those formally made an ecclesiastical censor in 1588.[48]

Wolfe also had strong connections to both the Stationers' Company and the religious and political establishment. Following a disreputable early career where he had both engaged in illegal printing and gone on to fundamentally challenge the authority of the Stationers' Company's system of rights to copy and privileges, Wolfe had switched from poacher to gamekeeper, not only joining the Company but taking charge of searching out unauthorised presses (including those operated by former associates). During the Marprelate controversy Wolfe had printed a notable number of anti-Marprelate tracts on behalf of the church. Further, in 1588 Wolfe acted as Whitgift's executor and was amongst those who searched the house and destroyed the press of arrested printer Robert Waldegrave (accused of printing the Marprelate tracts), as well as participating in a failed expedition to Kingston seeking the location of other secret puritan presses. A later Marprelate tract wished the 'pursuivants, and the Stationers, with the Wolf, their beadle, not to be so ready to molest honest men'.[49]

As both texts and printed books, therefore, Hartwell's translations of the continental works of Minadoi and Soranzo are the product of figures intimately connected to the late-Elizabethan religious establishment, the operation of censorship on behalf of the state, and the regulation of the print trade through the Stationers' Company. This closeness is reflected in Hartwell's dedication of *The Ottoman* to Whitgift:

> It pleased your Grace in the beginning of Michaelmas terme last, to demand of me a question touching the Bassaes and Visiers

> belonging to the Turkish court, and whether the chiefe Visier were promoted and advanced to that high & supereminent authority above the rest, according to his priority of time and antiquity of his being [a] Bassa, or according to the good pleasure and election of the Graund Turke himselfe: wherein although I did for the present satisfie your Grace … by the smal skill & knowledge which I have in those Turkish affaires: yet bethinking my selfe of this Discourse … I thought it would bee a very acceptable and pleasing matter now to thrust it forth, for the better satisfaction of your Grace and others, that are desirous to understand the ful truth & estate of that tirannical and Mahametical Empire.[50]

Hartwell presents his translation as a direct follow on from Whitgift's interest in the Turk, intended to please as well as inform his patron. However, this passage also reflects the context in which Hartwell produced this work. The detailed nature of Whitgift's question on the career progression of Ottoman bureaucrats implies that the former had a developed and sustained interest in 'Turkish affaires', perhaps stimulated by reading news, and considered Hartwell as an expert. Hartwell's conventionally modest appraisal of his own 'small skill and knowledge' belies the existence of a substantial literature on the Turks in Latin, French, Italian, and even German and Dutch, available to educated readers with access to continental books and the languages to read them.

Hartwell was part of a circle of scholars surrounding Whitgift who can be shown to have maintained an interest in the matter of the Turks. Whitgift was a member, and sometime President of the Society of Antiquaries, which Hartwell had also joined by at least 1600.[51] The society had been founded by Archbishop Parker in 1572 and often met at the house of Robert Cotton. In addition to several prominent scholars, such as Robert Cotton and William Camden, another of its members, Sir Peter Manwood, was the patron of England's most prominent contemporary historian of the Ottomans, Richard Knolles (see Chapter 3), who can be shown to have drawn on his patron's connections to acquire the sources from which he wrote.[52] Interest in the Turks by Whifgift and the circle of scholars around him, stimulated by the events of the Long War, and probably fed by available news reports of those events, acted as a catalyst to the production of English works on this topic. Hartwell's dedication of his translation *The History of the Warres between the Turkes and the Persians*, again to his patron Whitgift, claims he was prompted by

> The grave judgement of Sr. *Moile Finche*[53] … who this last Sommer beeing with you at your Maner of *Beakesbourne*, upon speech then had about the great preparations of the *Turke* agaynst Christendome, and the huge victories that he had atchieved upon his enemies that sought to weaken him, did verie highly commende this booke, and the Author thereof.[54]

Again we get a sense of Whitgift and his circle discussing the Turks and their role in contemporary events, turning to continental literature for more detailed contextualising accounts, and then producing English works that make the content of that continental discourse available in English. This dedication also expresses Hartwell's desire to have supplemented the text to provide a more satisfactory English account of the Ottomans by adding 'certain advertisementes and collections, as well out of the old auncient writers … as also out of *Leunclavius* [Hans Lewenklaw] & others, that have lately written of the moderne and present estate thereof'.[55] Similarly, Hartwell later wished to append a translation of Achilles Tarducci's *Il Turco vincible in Hongheria* (1597) to his translation of *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo*, and it must have seemed clear to him that there was a gap in the market for a substantial English treatment of the Turks.

Hartwell's status as a churchman, government official, and scholar enjoying Whitgift's patronage is reflected in his rather conventional accounts of the 'tirannical and Mahametticall Empire' of the Ottomans. Hartwell emphasises the threat to all Christendom posed by this 'Easterne Empire' and wishes that all 'Christian Princes' would 'co[m] byne & confederate themselves together in this sacred war', seemingly having no problem endorsing an anti-Turkish crusade, despite the fact that the Catholic Soranzo is 'greatly addicted to the popish religion'. The books of the 1540s, which I examined in Chapter 1, had viewed the threat of the Turks as a divine imperative to urgent religious reform. However, Hartwell, secretary to Whitgift, the foremost defender of Elizabethan Church settlement orthodoxy, had no interest whatsoever in taking such a polemical or divisive line.

Hartwell's works were in many ways typical of the longer and more scholarly of the books printed in response to the Long War. They were explicitly concerned with current events but sought to put these in a historical context. They were translated from continental books and often incorporated material from more than one source. They presented an oppositional view of the Turks but were moderate rather than polemical in their religious and political views of Christendom. They were also

dedicated to noble patrons. However, while Hartwell had been lucky enough to secure a clerical living through the patronage of Whitgift, many contemporaries were not similarly fortunate. One might characterise the authors of most English historical works on the Turks in the late-sixteenth century as jobbing scholars scraping together a living while speculatively publishing, aiming to attract sponsors to help them secure gainful employment.

These authors were minor Elizabethan literary figures who sought to enter or to exploit patronage relationships with noble or ecclesiastical court figures of the kind who could provide employment for men of scholarly ability. Some were talented, or, perhaps simply sufficiently fortunate enough, to attract regular patrons who could secure their means of livelihood. In Hartwell's case he had graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1572 and become a Fellow in 1574; however, his career took off after he entered Whitgift's service in 1577. After this he became a notary public in 1583, was Whitgift's secretary by 1584, was appointed censor of the book trade in 1588, and served as MP for East Looe in 1586 and Hindon in 1593. Hartwell's scholarly work was an informal part of his service to his patron Whitgift, and within this remit I include not only his translations, but his availability to answer the Archbishop's queries on learned matters. Anthony Grafton, Lisa Jardine, and William Sherman have examined some comparable aspects of the breadth of scholarly services offered informally by similar figures to noble patrons in this period.[56] While they focus on a particular form of 'knowledge transaction' (i.e. 'intelligencers'), the figures involved, services, and avenues of employment open to scholars in these contexts, are broadly similar to those in which Hartwell and the other authors I shall now turn to worked. It is in this *milieu* that we should read the dedications of the following works on the Turks. What appears to the modern reader as their fawning tone reflects relationships of exchange and expectation 'couched in a coded language of friendship' or an attempt (often unsolicited) to instigate such a relationship.[57]

Attempts to instigate patronage can be observed in several contemporary works on the Turks and Ottoman Empire. John Pory dedicated his *Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600), which described extensive Ottoman territory in North Africa, to Secretary of State Robert Cecil. The text itself was a translation of Leo Africanus's *Descrizione dell' Affrica*, based on both the Italian and Latin editions, but substantially supplemented throughout with various other sources.[58] Pory had studied cosmography and geography with the encouragement of his mentor Richard Hakluyt, who, 'knowing the excellencie of this storie [i.e. *A Geographical*

Historie of Africa] above all others ... was the onely man that mooved me to translate it'.[59] Hakluyt himself received a grant of the reversion of the next vacant prebendary in Westminster Abbey on 27 August 1600, through Cecil's influence, and had good cause to thank his patron shortly after for Cecil's 'earnest desire to doe mee good, which very lately, when I thought least thereof, brake forth into most bountiful and acceptable effects'.[60] It seems clear that Pory was attempting to capitalise on his mentor's existing relationship with Cecil in the hope of attaining similar benevolences. Pory ties the topic of his scholarship to contemporary English diplomatic and economic involvement in Morocco (an independent state but with close ties to the Ottoman Empire), one of the very few English works on the Turks of the period to allude to North African or eastern trade.[61]

> And at this time especially I thought they [i.e. the fruits of Pory's labour in translating *A Geographical Historie of Africa*] would proove the more acceptable: in that the Marocan ambassadour (whose Kings dominions are heere most amplie and particularly described) hath so lately treated with your Honour concerning matters of that estate.[62]

However, despite Cecil's own private interests in foreign, and notably Mediterranean trade, his favour was not obviously forthcoming. In a varied career, Pory went on to serve as an MP for Bridgewater in Somerset; to travel extensively, spending 1613–1617 in Constantinople attached to the embassy of Ambassador Paul Pindar; to be involved with the Virginia Company; and hawk his scholarship as a prolific 'intelligencer' or writer of manuscript news, with clients including Robert Cotton.[63]

A second contemporary work dedicated to Cecil was *The historie of the troubles of Hungarie* (1600), a translation from the French of Martin Fumée.[64] The translator, 'R.C.', picturesquely likens his translation to refugee Hungarian noblemen occasionally seen in England at the time of the Long War, 'come into our little Iland (it being as it were in the uttermost confines of Europe) in ragged and mournfull habits as a distressed Pilgrime'.[65] In contrast to Pory, whose dedication emphasised English diplomacy with the wider world, 'R.C.', drawing upon a continental account of the Turks, placed England very much in Europe (though at the periphery). As one of the most important men in Elizabethan England Robert Cecil attracted a large number of book dedications, and as one might expect in a volume dedicated to such a prominent figure R.C. simply repeats the uncontroversial depictions of the Turks in his

source material emphasising their threat to Christendom, their tyranny, and other common tropes.

A second court figure to whom a brace of Turkish histories were dedicated was the second Baron of Hunsdon, George Carey.[66] In 1596, Zachary Jones, a member of the Spenser circle and barrister, dedicated *The Historie of George Castriot* to Carey.[67] This was a translation of *Historie de Georges Castriot surname Scanderberg*, which was itself a version of the Albanian Marin Barleti's *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirotarum principis*.[68] Jones's links to Spenser may explain this dedication, which was printed by that author's regular publisher, William Ponsonby, in the same year in which Jones was called to the bar of Lincoln's Inn. Although Spenser's relationship with the court was occasionally fraught, there is no question that he successfully used publication as a means of accessing courtly patronage circles.[69] Spenser was related to Carey's wife, Elizabeth, a noted literary patron, to whom he dedicated *Muiopotmos* (1590), and addressed the sixteenth dedicatory sonnet of *The Faerie Queene* (1590). Spenser also dedicated the tenth sonnet to George Carey's father Henry, first Baron of Hunsdon. It is likely that Jones, an unknown junior barrister, was attempting to utilise his somewhat tenuous extended social connections through Spenser to the Careys, who were after all noted literary patrons. Following Henry Carey's death on 23 July 1596, George Carey succeeded to his office of 'captain of the gentlemen pensioners', and on 14 April 1597 he was also appointed to his father's titles of Lord Chamberlain and Privy Councillor.[70] The dedication of *The Historie of George Castriot* 'To the Honourable Sir George Carey Knight marshal of her Majesties house' (to which he had been appointed in 1578) allows us to date the dedication of *The Historie of George Castriot* (1596) to before his advancement of 23 July that year. Jones's dedication is therefore most likely an attempt to gain patronage from a nobleman widely expected to gain advancement shortly. Unfortunately for Jones this does not appear to have been successful.

A second text dedicated to George Carey is the anonymous *Policy of the Turkish Empire* (1597). Carey had by this time become 'Lord Chamberlaine of the Queenes house: Captaine of her Majesties Gentlemen Pensioners'.[71] The author's connection to Carey in this case appears less tenuous, as he implies an existing patronage relationship, referring to the 'remembrance of your forepassed favours' and styling himself 'wholly devoted to doe you service' as 'an assured follower of your lordship'. This work is sometimes attributed to Giles Fletcher on the basis of a manuscript attribution to 'doctor fletcher (doctor of the laws)' on the Peterborough Cathedral Library copy, and his authorship

of the superficially similar *Of the Russe common wealth* (1591).[72] However, though there is some evidence Fletcher and Carey may have known each other, this attribution seems tenuous at best.[73]

The presentation of this book to Carey appears, from the dedication, to be the author's initiative, and not prompted by any encouragement or request for a book on the Ottoman Turks on Carey's part. It was an original work, rather than a translation or compilation, and although it focused upon 'the Turkes religion', the author promised that it was merely a first instalment and that Carey would 'shortly see it seconded with the other part of these discourses: Relating unto you their manners, life, customes, goverment, and Discipline'. From these comments it seems that the author was seeking support and patronage for a longer and more exhaustive account on the topical subject of the Turks. The clear implication here is that, at least in the author's perception, there was a market or need for a more comprehensive English treatment of the Turks than had yet appeared. However, these promises were never fulfilled, perhaps because of a lack of interest from either Carey, or the bookseller Stansby.

A similar intention to produce a longer and more thorough English account of the Turks through instalments was voiced by R. Carr in the dedication of his *Mahumetane or Turkish historie* (1600), which he describes as 'my traductions, from the *French*, *Latin*, and *Italian* tounges'.[74] Tackling the rise of Islam, the rise of the Ottomans, and the siege of Malta Carr goes on to add:

> To this I have annexed likewise an abstract (borrowed fro[m] the *Italians*) of such causes as are saide to give greatnesse to the *Turkish Empire*, a breviate onley of a larger worke yet by me unfinished, devided into three bookes which by gods grace shal come forth shortly.[75]

Both Carr and the anonymous author of *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* appear to have dedicated their volumes to potential patrons partly in the hope of gaining support for further, longer projects of a similar nature. Hartwell also expressed similar intentions to expand both of his translations of books on the Turks into more comprehensive works. Duly we may infer that to these men there appeared a gap in the market for a lengthy English treatment of the Ottoman Turks, one which went beyond the translation of individual continental texts, to an authoritative description of the Turks addressed to an English audience.

This demand was eventually met by Richard Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603), which synthesised the material and

arguments of the existing continental discourse of Turkish history for an English audience, and to whom I shall turn to in detail in the next chapter. As we shall see Knolles's work, which became the pre-eminent early modern English account of the Turks, was in many ways the culmination of several of the trends discussed in this chapter. Periods of heightened European conflict such as the Long War stimulated interest in the Turks in England. This literature, in all its diverse forms, not only reported on unfolding events, but sought to provide a wider context with accounts of not just these wars, but also of the Turks themselves, their manners, religion, empire, and history. In doing so English authors drew on a developed continental literature the best of which was often informed by economic and diplomatic contact with the Ottoman Empire (examples include Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Nicolas Nicolay, and Hans Lewenklaw). However, these translations were also shaped by the English contexts in which they were produced and printed, responding to the socio-historical circumstances of their authors and the contemporary print market, as well as Ottoman advances into Europe.

3
'The Present Terrour of the World': Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603)

Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) was unquestionably the most important, widely read, and influential account of the history of the Turks to be published in early modern England. However, despite the ubiquity of references to Knolles amongst seventeenth-century English accounts of the Turks, posterity has not been kind, witness Samuel Johnson's appraisal in the *Rambler* in 1751.

> The nation which produced this great historian, has the grief of seeing his genius employed upon a foreign and uninteresting subject; and that writer who might have secured perpetuity to his name, by a history of his own country, has exposed himself to the danger of oblivion, by recounting enterprises and revolutions, of which none desire to be informed.[1]

While Johnson is heartily convinced of Knolles's merits as an author he dismisses 'the remoteness and barbarity of the people, whose story he relates' as an irrelevance. Modern critics have tended to reverse this assessment; despite an upsurge of interest in early modern English intellectual, cultural, and material engagements with the Turks and Islam, few scholars have more than lightly touched on Knolles's massive work, let alone exploring it in the detail it deserves.[2] This chapter will focus upon the *Generall Historie*, which was published in six editions throughout the seventeenth century, each expanded with a continuation bringing it up to the date of printing, only the first of which was by Knolles himself. Though I will touch upon later editions and continuations in Chapters 4 and 5, the current chapter will confine itself to the first edition of 1603, as this is itself very substantial. It will give an account of the socio-historical context in which Knolles wrote this

work, his method as a historian, his sources and his use of them, the major themes of his work, its complicated publication history, and large seventeenth-century readership. Throughout I shall explore the character of the *Generall Historie* and the contexts in which it was written and read, and attempt to explain its appeal, and the significance of the legacy that it left for later English writers.

Richard Knolles

Born in the 1540s, probably in Cold Ashby, Northamptonshire, Richard Knolles entered Lincoln College Oxford around 1560, attained a Bachelor of Arts in 1565 and was licensed as a Master of Arts in 1570. Following his departure from Oxford, he was appointed as Master of the Free School at Sandwich in Kent, which had been founded by Sir Roger Manwood in 1563. Manwood had also established four scholarships at Lincoln College in 1568, and it may have been through this connection that he met Knolles. The educationalist Richard Mulcaster's *Elementarie* (1582) referred to Manwood as one of the 'great founders to [*sic*] learning both within the universities, & in the cuntries about the[m]'.[3] However, it was under the patronage of Sir Roger's son Peter that Knolles emerged as an author. Sir Peter Manwood had a reputation not only as a scholar and antiquary, but as a patron of learned men.[4] Knolles referred to him as 'a lover and great favourer of learning', Camden commended him for his sponsorship of letters, and his name is also connected to several other works, notably translations by Edward Grimeston.[5] As well as supporting his father's school at Sandwich, Peter Manwood was a benefactor of both Lincoln College Oxford and of Gonville and Caius College Cambridge.[6]

From the Manwoods Knolles received the support to produce the first comprehensive English account of the Turks. His dedication to the newly crowned James I acknowledges 'my most especiall friend Sir *Peter Manwood*, the first moover of me to take this great Worke in hand, and my continuall and onley comfort and helper therein'.[7] However, given the strained terms in which Knolles refers to his 'long and painefull travell', and work 'written by me in a world of troubles and cares, in a place that affoorded no meanes or comfort' (i.e. Sandwich Free School), it seems likely that Manwood applied more than simple 'encouragement'.[8] Though rhetoric amplifying the size of the task and the authors own deficiencies in style and skill are conventional tropes of this period, in Knolles's case his worries were real enough, as is shown in surviving documents seeking his removal from the school on grounds of

negligence, and references to his ill health.[9] Furthermore, the *Generall Historie* was not Knolles's only major work of scholarship. He produced a composite translation of Jean Bodin's *Republique* that synthesised the substantially different Latin and French texts, published in 1606 as *The six bookes of a Commonweale*. He also translated William Camden's *Britannia* (c.1607) into English, though this was never printed and only survives in manuscript form.[10] It does not seem unreasonable to conjecture that the root cause of the accusations of laxity at the school, and perhaps even Knolles's failing health, may have been the demands placed on him by the production of these lengthy works alongside his duties as master.[11] It is a sobering thought that while figures such as Knolles and Abraham Hartwell were successful in attracting and maintaining patronage relationships, these arrangements also brought a weight of expectation and work, which must often have had their own personal cost.

Knolles's *Generall Historie* is characterised by his reluctance to engage in any form of controversy, notably on the topic of religion, and in this he fits into the wider context of historical writing on the Turks that appeared in England in response to the Long war 1593–1606, examined in Chapter 2. I have described these works as conservative, generally written by minor scholars, and geared towards establishing or maintaining patronage relationships, by reporting and contextualising contemporary Ottoman–Hapsburg conflict in uncontentious terms. In Knolles's writing these trends are if anything more prominent. His reticence on the topic of religious sectarianism is especially striking given that he had lived through a period of very real religious division.

Kenneth McRae has shown that the years Knolles spent at the staunchly Catholic and traditionalist Lincoln college Oxford, were a time of dramatic religious upheaval.[12] Hugh Weston, who was rector of Lincoln from 1539 to 1556, was a prominent Catholic and had been chairman of the commission that tried and ordered the execution of the Protestant martyrs Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer in 1554. Following Elizabeth's coronation in 1558, three of Weston's successors to the office of rector, Henry Henshaw, Francis Babington (d. 1569?), and John Brigewater (d. 1596?), were forced to resign on grounds of their Catholicism, taking several of the Fellows with them. McRae is able to show that almost all of Knolles's student contemporaries at Lincoln were Catholics who were denied degrees on grounds of their religion, and also that many of them then left England to join the English Roman Catholic College at Douay.[13] It is abundantly obvious, with the dismissal of rectors, the routine denial of degrees to those whose

religious views came under suspicion, and the number of religious exiles emanating from the College, that Knolles spent his formative university years in the midst of religious divisions pushed to the point of crisis. Interestingly, Knolles was one of the very few Lincoln men to attain a Batchelor of Arts degree in this period, strongly implying that he was not a Catholic. This is supported by the fact that his patron, Peter Manwood, was an ardent protestant, and that the statues of the Free School required the Master to be of 'righte understandinge of Godes trewe religeon nowe sett fourth by publique awcthoritie'.[14]

Yet it is also unlikely that Knolles was a particularly hard-line Protestant as one does not find any indication of anti-papal sentiments in Knolles's writing, though his lengthy section on the crusades would certainly have provided ample opportunity to vent such feelings. We can, for example, contrast Knolles's attitudes to the crusades to the vehemently Protestant historian Thomas Fuller, who in fact cited Knolles's earlier work repeatedly. For Knolles, whose history is structured around traditionalist concepts such as the tribulations of the Church against heresy (including Islam in this context) the crusades are 'notable expeditions of the Christians' and Pope Urban II and Peter the hermit are noble and heroic figures. Conversely, Fuller describes the crusades as a malevolent plot on the part of the Papacy to gather power unto itself and Peter the hermit is 'a contemptible person'.[15] In light of his biography and writing it seems most apt to characterise Knolles as a moderate, a man who got by in a world of volatile religious discord by keeping his head down.

Sources and intellectual contexts

The Generall Historie synthesised numerous sources from which Knolles drew not only anecdotal details, but also ideas, language, and organising principals. They provided him with names, dates, and narrative episodes, but also a conception of the Turks as a subject of enquiry. The following section delineates the categories into which Knolles separated his sources, describes their general character, and draws a comparison between their organisation and that employed by Knolles. By exploring the sources that informed Knolles's conception of Turkish history we can appreciate the discourse to which he was contributing; only by understanding this foundation can we grasp what Knolles made of these materials, or indeed what he built with them.

Knolles listed 36 of his sources in his prefatory materials, in addition to referring to several more throughout the work.[16] He divided these

sources into three broad categories: 'Turkish Histories and Chronicles', 'Greeke Historiographers', and 'Latine Historiographers'.[17] However, close inspection reveals that both this list and these categories are less wide ranging than they first appear. Citations in the margins make it clear that Knolles's 'Turkish Histories' are in fact limited to the works of 'Johannes Leunclavius', or Hans Lewenklaw (1541–1594), a complier and editor of Latin translations of Ottoman chronicles.[18] Knolles cites both Lewenklaw's *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum* (1596)[19] and *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum* (1591), in particular drawing upon translated Latin versions of Turkish chronicles and Lewenklaw's 'Pandects', a summarising chronicle that made up the final section of the *Annales*.

Similarly, it is evident from Knolles's marginal references that the 'Greeke Historiographers' whom he cites so regularly are drawn from a single printed work, the *Historia rerum in oriente gestarum ab exordio mundi et orbe condito ad nostra haec usque tempora* (1587). This edited volume contains Latin translations of the writings of the Byzantine historians 'Nicephorus Gregoras', 'Nicetas Choniates', and 'Laonicus Chalcocondilas', all of whom Knolles includes in his list of principal authors (as well as 'Joannes Zonaras' whom he does not refer to).[20] There are two important points to be drawn from Knolles's use of these 'Turkish' and 'Greeke' sources. Firstly, they are all mediated through the Latin language and western authors, editors, and printers. In other words, they are very much part of same western European historiography of the Turks from which he drew his 'Latine histories'. Indeed, Knolles would have been unable to do much with either Turkish or Greek sources in their original languages, as his early modern biographer Anthony Wood commented that Knolles had no oriental languages (probably relying on oral sources), while his modern editor McRae has inferred from internal evidence that Knolles's grasp of Greek was poor.[21] The second major point to note is that although Knolles's table lists 36 separate authors, many of these in fact appeared together in compilations. This table, alongside his generalised references to 'Greek' and 'Turkish' chronicles, gives the impression that his range of sources was broader than it was.

The main body of Knolles's sources are those which he refers to as 'Latine histories'. These were chronicles and histories, primarily by Italian and German authors.[22] Of the works for which I can establish a precise edition, the majority are printed in Frankfurt. This is particularly noteworthy given that the 1590s is a period in which we can substantiate connections between the Frankfurt Book Fair and prominent English booksellers such as John Wolfe and George Bishop (who was

directly involved in the publication of the *Generall Historie*).[23] Notable for their absence amongst Knolles's sources are French works and medieval chronicles. Knolles does refer in the text to the French traveller and diplomat Nicolas Nicolay, and the French historians Bernard de Girard and Jacobus Fontanus (Jacob Fonteyn). However, the former had been translated into English, and the latter was a member of the Order of St John whom Knolles read as part of a chronicle compilation published in Frankfurt. Conspicuously, Knolles does not seem to have drawn on early French Orientalists such as Guillaume Postel, nor other of the numerous contemporary French travellers such as André Thevet. Knolles also does not list any medieval chroniclers among his sources, nor refer to them in the body of his text. This omission seems striking as the central topic of much of the first book of his history is the crusades, and one might expect to find, for example, the chronicle of Jean Froissart, which contains a well-known account of the crusade of Varna, and had previously been printed in English.[24]

The salient point here is that the sources that Knolles *did* use are essentially late-humanist historians, working within a tradition of writing Turkish history that had evolved in Italy in the aftermath of the capture of Constantinople and continued to develop in response to Ottoman advances into central Europe and the Mediterranean. This was, in a sense, the conversation to which Knolles was contributing, or at least recounting to an English audience. By the early-seventeenth century this tradition was complex and sophisticated, and as such it is useful to sub-divide it further into three rough categories. Firstly, we can group together earlier works, written between the fall of Constantinople and Hungary, which Knolles drew on especially for his account of the origins of the Turks, an issue that had particularly occupied early humanist accounts. These included Italians such as 'Antonius Sabellicus', 'Antonius Bonfinius' (Bonfini), 'Blondus Foroliuiensis' (Flavio Biondo), and Greek authors such as 'Leonardus Chiensis' (Leonard of Chios), who witnessed the sack of Constantinople and 'Theodore Spandounes', born to a Greek family in Venice. The second category is later sixteenth-century works, which responded directly to the circumstances of various Ottoman advances into Europe and the Mediterranean. Examples include, Paolo Giovio's *Commentario de la cose de Turchi* (which Knolles consulted in Latin translation), Fonteyn on Rhodes, Giovanni Antonio Guarneri on the war of Cyprus (author of *De bello Cyprio libri tres*, 1597),[25] Cælius Secundus Curio on Malta (*De bello Melitensi Historia nova*, 1567), and 'John Crispe' on Naxos. The episodes recounted in such works of course made up a

substantial part of Knolles's narrative. Thirdly, Knolles consulted mid- to late-sixteenth-century accounts that brought together earlier material and new writing to create overviews, or collected numerous separate works into compilations, or miscellanies. These included the *Historia rerum in Oriente*, and the editions of Lewenklaw, Lonicer, and Nikolaus von Reusner. He additionally drew on works from the 1590s responding to renewed Hapsburg–Ottoman conflict such as Soranzo's *L'Ottomanno* (1598) and Tarducci's *Il Turco vincibile in Ungaria* (1600).

Amongst these sources Knolles's frequent references indicate that Lonicer's lengthy three volume *Chronicorum Turcicorum* (1578) was especially significant. Lonicer's chronicle compilation contains writing by Leonard of Chios, Marin Barleti, Sabellicus, Fonteyn, and Antonio Menavino, as well as Lonicer himself. It was certainly Knolles's source for Barleti that served as the basis for his account of Scanderbeg (George Kastriot).[26] Other authors included in the *Chronicorum* include Sabellicus, who Knolles cites frequently on the Turks origins, Leonard of Chios, from whom he took an account of fall of Constantinople, and Fonteyn, Knolles's source on the battle of Lepanto. Somewhat similarly to his use of Lonicer's *Chronicorum*, Knolles references Nikolaus von Reusner's *Epistolarum Turcicarum variorum et diversorum authorum* (1598–1600), a miscellany of letters and first-hand descriptions, which contained letters by 'Joannes Crispus' (probably a member of the ruling Krispos family of Naxos) and Leonard of Chios, who are both cited by Knolles. Through his extensive use of compilations and miscellanies, Knolles often encountered even his continental authors already edited, complied, collected with others, and presented in structured arguments. His own writing on the Turks was heavily mediated through an existing tradition that had already digested and structured the meaning of Ottoman history. Knolles's 'long and painefull travell' in assembling this work followed a well-trodden road.

Some of the authors listed by Knolles had been previously been translated and published in English. As I shall discuss later Knolles probably used 'H.M.'s' translation of Jean du Bec's *The historie of the great emperour Tamerlan* (1597). Further, Knolles refers to Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi as '*John Thomas Minadoi*', which is how he is credited in Abraham Hartwell's translation *The history of the warres between the Turkes and the Persians* (1595). This is of particular relevance as Knolles's sources also included Soranzo, who Hartwell also translated, and Tarducci, whose writing Hartwell had access to. Given that Hartwell and Peter Manwood were both members of the Society of Antiquaries, it seems likely that Hartwell was Knolles's source for these three texts. Indeed Manwood's

connection to the Society may have been one of the avenues through which Knolles acquired other sources.[27] The simple existence of contemporary English translations, however, does not mean that Knolles consulted them. For instance, Knolles is highly unlikely to have used Zachary Jones's recent translation *The History of George Castriot* (1596).[28] Similarly, there is no reason to think that Knolles used Ashton's much earlier English translation of Giovio as Knolles habitually Latinises both Giovio's name and the titles of his works. We should not assume that simply because English editions of these works had appeared that they were somehow perennially 'available', indeed it may have been easier to acquire copies of common authors such as Giovio in Latin editions.

Knolles did not simply draw narrative anecdotes and details from the Latin chronicles that formed the basis of his study. Rather, this source material underpinned his understanding of the Turks as a *subject* and shaped both his own work's conceptual framework and organisation. The *Generall Historie* begins with an account of the origins of the Turks and the crusades. This section is followed by a lengthy and detailed account of Ottoman dynastic history, divided into chapters comprised of lives of individual sultans. Each of these chapters was preceded by an engraving of the relevant sultan and a short epigraphical poem.[29] The work is concluded by a brief section summarising and enumerating the power and structure of the Ottoman Empire.

This format is conspicuously similar to several of Knolles's sources. For instance, Giovio's *Turcicarum rerum commentarius* begins with a brief account of the origins of the Turks, moves on to the main text describing the dynastic history of the Ottomans organised around the lives of sultans, and ends with a short summary of Ottoman military organisation with observations about how best a war against them is to be managed, a framework common amongst contemporary accounts of the Turks. Philip Lonicer's *Chronicorum Turcicorum* is even more reminiscent of the *Generall Historie*, particularly the first book (the only section written by Lonicer himself, the rest being a compilation). It begins with a summary of Turkish origins and the crusades, before turning to Ottoman dynastic history through reigns of sultans, and ending with a summary of Ottoman military offices. Each of the middle chapters, covering the lives of sultans, are prefaced by engravings and epigraphical poems. Knolles copied several of these verses and images from this source for use in the *Generall Historie*. Giovio's *Comentarius* and the first book of Lonicer's *Chronicorum* are both shorter in length and less detailed than Knolles's work. Nonetheless the similarities in the textual architecture between these works show that Knolles adopted extant

strategies for depicting Ottoman history, and in Lonicer's case the similarity is so marked that it is quite possible this work served directly as Knolles's model.

It is possible to identify most of the source texts for the engravings in the *Generall Historie*.[30] Knolles's engraver, Lawrence Johnson, copied the majority from Theodore de Bry's engravings for Jean Boissard's *Vitae et icones Sultanorum*, and some verses from this work were also used.[31] A couple of supplementary engravings were copied from Johann Adam Lonicer's *Historia Chronologica Pannoniae*, and, as mentioned, Philip Lonicer's *Chronicorum* (from which many of the verses were drawn).[32] Knolles additionally derived a couple of further verses from Giovio's *Vitae Virorum Illustrium*, and wrote or adapted the remainder himself. Just as Knolles drew on an established discourse of Turkish history, his engraver Johnson borrowed from an entrenched visual discourse of representing Ottoman and eastern monarchs. However, while we can individually establish many of Knolles's sources for images, verses, narrative episodes, and arguments, to understand what Knolles made of this material we must turn to his concept of history and methodology.

History and meaning

F. S. Fussner's classic study identified Knolles as part of a new breed of 'territorial history', and asserted that the basic units of his study were territorial states and their rulers.[33] This is true in the sense that nations, kingdoms, empires, their rulers, and wars are building blocks in Knolles's story. However, the crux of Knolles's narrative is the conflict between the divided Christian church, and the contrastingly unified 'Islami', a theme which is both much wider than nations and empires and set in strongly providential terms. It seems more apt to place Knolles into what D.R. Woolf has characterised as 'the borderland between history and chronicle in Renaissance England', a halfway house, from Vergil to Stow between the concerns of the medieval chronicle and the forms that history evolved into in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[34] His English intellectual context is most apparent in the details of Knolles's scholarship. For example, Knolles's occasional attempts to include translated inscriptions and material such as letters or treaties is comparable to the antiquarian interests of his near contemporaries such as Camden or Richard Hakluyt. However, it would be a mistake to see Knolles as one of the 'politic' historians whom Woolf focuses upon, distinguished by their interest in identifying temporal, human causes underlying historical events.[35] Knolles's

players dance to an older and more traditional tune. His conception of history is structured by the morally edifying themes of the working of God's providence, the cyclical nature of history (such as the rise and fall of empires), and the relation of these to scripture, both as history and eschatological precedent.

Knolles's introduction outlines the method that he applied to the 'sea and world of matter' contained in his sources to shape their details into a cogent and coherent account.[36] In doing so he also provides a summary of his views on the nature of history and the tasks and duties of the historian. His aim of writing a single all-encompassing history of the Turks was forced, by dint of its ambition, to draw upon and synthesise various accounts. To combine these he employed a hierarchical taxonomy, underpinned by a specific understanding of the nature and purposes of history and historical inquiry. The first, and most reliable, category of sources was 'such as were themselves present and as it were eye-witnesses' (e.g. Cæsar), amongst whom Knolles names Choniates, Gregoras, Chalcocondiles, Barleti, Leonardus of Chios, Fonteyn, Busbeqc, Nicolay, and Crispe. From each of these authors Knolles drew substantial sections of his history, and throughout he frequently acknowledges his major sources for specific episodes. Knolles then turned to 'such, as being themselves men of great place, and well acquainted with the great and worthie personages of their time, might from their mouths as from certain Oracles report the undoubted truth', in which category his principle example is Paolo Giovio, another of his major sources (he cites three separate works).[37] His third category is 'great travellers into the Turkes dominions' who therefore had had the opportunity to be well informed (though not in themselves witnesses to any specific events), amongst whom he commends Pantaleon and Minadoi, but most of all Leunclavius (who had accompanied an embassy in 1584–1585), whom he describes as 'of all others a most curious searcher of their antiquities and Histories'.[38] Only then did Knolles fill in the gaps by turning to the 'writings of such other learned and credible authors, as to whose integritie and faithfulnesse the world hath not to my knowledge at any time yet doubted' (we can assume that here he meant Lonicer, Sabelicus, Francesco Sansovino, etc.). Finally Knolles, somewhat cautiously acknowledges his use of news accounts.

> I was glad out of the Germane and Italian writers in their owne language to borrow the knowledge of these late affaires as not yet written in Latin, wherein if the reader find not himselfe so fully satisfied as he could desire, I would be glad by him to be better enformed...[39]

We can assume that by these he meant figures such as the news pamphleteers 'Theodori Mevreri', 'Jacobi Franci', and 'Andreæ Strigelii', listed by name with his major sources.[40]

Knolles then, had a clear framework for assessing his sources, and in the text we often find him comparing the conflicting accounts of two or more authors, in order to arrive at what he perceived as the truth. His methods, motives, and expectations were comparable with his contemporaries, for example, Knolles's own English translation of Camden's Latin *Britannia* (1607) lays upon the historian the injunction to

> give unto old thinges, noveltie: unto obscure thinges, light: unto thinges doubtful, credit: and so farre as might be, call home againe from long exile and bannishment, trueth in our affaires…[41]

The rhetoric of this passage relates to concurrent ideas of the purpose and aims of history. The concern of the Elizabethan historian was not primarily to uncover new material or ask critical questions of the old, but to arrive at truth by the removal of error and confusion, ironing out the creases of contradiction and obscurity, before folding episodes into a neat and aesthetically pleasing narrative. In most of the passages of the *Generall Historie*, even those where Knolles largely follows one author, he elaborates with details from other accounts, frequently noting contradictions between his sources, before giving his own conclusions.

> I contented not my selfe … to tread the steps of this or that one man … but out of the learned and faithfull workes of many, according to my simple judgement to make choice of that was most probable, still supplying with the perfections of the better, what I found wanting or defective in the weaker, propounding unto my selfe no other marke to aime at than the very truth of the Historie…[42]

For Knolles this 'truth' was not simply the recounting of events as they had happened but also explicating their underlying causes and moral meaning. This facet of Knolles's historical thought and method is perhaps clearest in his attitude to his 'Turkish' sources (i.e. Lewenklaw/Leunclavius).

> yea the Turkish Histories and Chronicles themselves (from whom the greatest light for the continuation of the Historie was in reason to have beene expected) being in the declaration of their owne affaires (according to their barbarous manner) so sparing and short, as that they may of right be accounted rather short rude notes than just

> Histories, rather pointing things out, than declaring the same; and that with such obscuritie … as might well stay an intentive reader, and deprive him of the pleasure together with the profit he might otherwise expect by the reading thereof; whereunto to give order, perspicuitie, and light, would require no small travell and paine.[43]

The task of the historian is to bring 'order, perspicuitie, and light', and to rescue the reader from 'obscure' and conflicting accounts. Knolles's task was not to reassess the Ottomans and their place in history, or to discover new information about them, but rather to harmonise the cacophony of existing accounts and establish points of consensus regarding the Ottomans, before composing them into a stylistically coherent account that elevated the topic and gave it meaning through a clear and moralistic framework. Knolles's scorn of the 'Turkish Histories and Chronicles' stems not only from their 'rude' and 'barbarous manner' (i.e. their lack of polished rhetorical style) but also their 'obscure' deviation from the details of his other sources. However, it is Knolles's comment that these accounts are not true histories, 'rather pointing things out than declaring the same' that is most revealing. The implication is that the role of the historian is far more than merely recounting facts, instead resting fundamentally on his ability to reconcile and present these within a wider moral, and as we shall see, scriptural, framework. It is this moral meaning that will ultimately not only please but profit the reader.

Most of these ideas of were commonplaces of the *ars historica* tradition as it had developed from classical and late-humanist writing in the mid- to late-sixteenth century.[44] Knolles's conventionality in this regard was probably part of his appeal. His key attribute was to evenly and consistently conform to the stylistic, rhetorical, and moral expectations of what for contemporaries constituted good history writing. This meant that he could reduce the complex events of Ottoman history, including threatening and dramatic Turkish incursions into Christian Europe, to a comprehensive and yet comprehensible narrative. In these terms Knolles was singularly successful and it is difficult not to admire the remarkable uniformity of style that his *Generall Historie* displays, particularly given its length and the diversity of sources on which it drew.

Providence and moral example

Nowhere is the underlying meta-narrative through which Knolles attributed meaning to the events of Ottoman dynastic history, and the

language and themes through which he conveyed this to his readers, more apparent than in the opening of his introduction.

> The long and still declining state of the Christian commonweale, with the utter ruine and subversion of the Empire of the East [i.e. the Byzantine Empire], and many other most glorious kingdomes and provinces of the Christians; never to be sufficiently lamented ... [continuing] ... the desolation of his Church here millitant upon earth, the dreadfull danger daily threatened unto the poore remainder thereof, the millions of soules cast headlong into eternall destruction, the infinit numbers of wofull Christians (whose grievous gronings under the heavie yoke of infidelitie, no tounge is able to expresse) with the carelesnesse of the great for the redresse thereof, might give just cause unto any good Christian to sit downe, and with the heavie Prophet to say as he did of Hierusalem: *O how hath the Lord darkened the daughter of Sion in his wrath? and cast downe from heaven unto the earth the beautie of Israel, and remembred not his footstoole in the day of his wrath?*
>
> [margin: Lament. Hieremie, cap. secundo].[45]

This lengthy rhetorical flight ends with a quotation from the book of Lamentations – a recurring rhetorical device in contemporary literature on the Turks – indeed this passage as a whole mirrors the themes and style of that biblical book, that is, a litany or dirge dwelling on images of suffering, loss, despair, and chastisement. Through this explicit and implicit biblical allegory Knolles cast 'the Christian commonweale' (in which he included eastern Christians and Catholics) as biblical Israelites, and the fate of Christians living under the Ottoman 'Yoke' as a Babylonian captivity. The implication was that the Ottomans, like the Babylonians, are the rod of God's wrath sent to chastise his wayward people. Knolles used a series of moral themes, such as God's chastisement of the sinful, the inevitable fall of the proud, and the insignificance of fleeting temporal might and fortune in contrast to the power of the almighty, as a framing device through which the threatening realities of Ottoman expansion, power, and wealth were explained, controlled, and reduced to examples for fine prose and pithy reflection.

The theme that history is a providential moral drama not merely to be described but also interpreted and understood through biblical allegory, was extended throughout Knolles's work and echoed in his conclusions,

which reached forward to the end of biblical history, the end of days. His conclusion ended:

> beseeching his omnipotent majestie, for his onely Sonne our Saviour Christ his sake, in mercie to turne the hearts of this mightie and froward [*sic*] people unto the knowledge of his Sonne crucified, and the love of his truth: or otherwise in his justice (for the more manifesting of his glorie) to root out their most bloud-thirstie and wicked empire … as that the name of *Gog* and *Magog* be no more heard under heaven, but that all may be one blessed flocke under one great shepheard Christ Jesus: At the greatnesse of which worke all the world wondering, may with joy sing *unto him in Trinitie, and Trinitie in Unitie, be all honour and glorie world without end*.[46]

In a passage taking the form of a prayer, ending with a Doxology, and bursting at the seams with eschatological references such as the conversion of the 'Turks' (in this context all Muslims), and Gog and Magog from the prophecy of Ezekiel, Knolles projects the conclusion of Turkish history forward into the end of days.[47] In doing so both his introduction and conclusion bracket the history of the Ottomans within a wider conception of history as the praxis of divine providence, a theme both edifying and familiar to his readers. His subject is in many ways the progress and tribulation of the Church and ministry of Jesus Christ on earth, and its battles with heresy. Within this framework, Islam, and thus the history of the Ottomans, is viewed as a continuation of this eternal struggle between Church and heresy, faith and the devil.

Knolles's narrative and rhetoric are also apparent in the structuring of his lives of the sultans, which begin with an engraving and short epigraphic poem summarising the life of the particular sultan. These reiterate Knolles's themes by dwelling on the personal failings of each sultan, the insignificance of their worldly power in relation to God, and the inevitable judgement they face as a result of these factors. The history as a whole describes a string of military campaigns and heroic events, punctuated by speeches by eminent historical figures, and enough of a summary of each sultan's personal shortcomings to draw some instructive moral lessons and demonstrate the judgment of the Almighty in their eventual fates.[48] This pattern is illustrated most clearly in Knolles's life of 'Bajazet' I (Bayezid I) and his epic conflict with 'Tammerlane' (Timur), culminating in defeat at the battle of Ankara in 1402 and his subsequent imprisonment, humiliation, and death. The story of Timur,

his meteoric rise to power, vast conquests, and titanic struggle with Bayezid, was exceptionally popular in Renaissance literature, containing as it did ample scope to reflect upon and illustrate the mutability of fortune, the art of war, and the ruthlessness and severity attendant to successful military leadership.[49] It was also a mainstay of biographical works such as Giovio's *Elogia* and Boissard's *Vitae et icones*, which Knolles included amongst his sources.

Knolles's primary source for this episode was Jean du Bec's *Histoire du grand empereur Tamerlanes* (1595), quite possibly in its 1597 English translation *The Historie of the great emperour Tamerlan*, though he also drew on other sources notably Lewenklaw's *Annales*.[50] Du Bec's work is in fact a fantasist forgery, which attempts to conceal this fabrication behind a convoluted and entirely spurious provenance that claims its source as an ancient history by an Arab author named 'Alhacen'. Having supposedly acquired this tract in his eastern travels, Du Bec claims he had it translated into 'the Frank tounge' (a mix of Italian, Greek, 'Slavon', Spanish, Turkish and Arabic), and finally laboriously set it into French himself. However, this façade is unconvincing. Du Bec's 'Tamerlan' is a crypto-Christian 'Parthian', who is described as an idealised Renaissance prince, compared throughout to classical and biblical reference points, and engages in phantasmal adventures such as conquering China. Entirely absent from his account are any of the trappings of Timurid historiography, Islamic reference points, or other reflections of Timur's actual historical context. Indeed the earliest surviving accounts of Timur are in fact Persian, while the earliest Arabic account is critical, portraying him as a tyrant.[51] Nonetheless, despite this dissembling, 'Alhacen' had quite the career in early modern England, with Knolles in good company with Richard Hakluyt and numerous other early modern authors who accepted this account as genuine, perhaps because it tallied with their expectations of eastern history.[52]

The key elements in Knolles's telling of the Tamerlane story are the vagaries of fortune, God's judgment upon pride, and ultimately the vainglory of worldly things next to divine glory. Drawing upon Du Bec's portrayal, Knolles makes 'Tamerlane' the instrument of divine retribution through which the haughty and violent tyrant Bayezid I is punished for his hubris. These themes are foreshadowed in the epigraph that precedes this chapter, translated from Lonicer's Latin, accompanied by a splendid engraving copied from Boissard's *Vitae et icones*.

> Prowd *Bajazet* most false of faith, and loathing blessed peace:
> His warlike troupes like lightening, to shake he doth not cease…

> Constantinople he distrest, twice with straight siege and long:
> And vainly thought to have possest the Graecians wealth by wrong.
> But overcome by *Tamberlane*, fast bound in fetters sure,
> Trod under foot, and cloas'd in cage, great shame did there indure.[53]

For Knolles, the story of Bayezid I and Timur is not merely an episode in the history of the Ottoman dynasty. Rather, it becomes a meditation on the consequences of Bayezid's pride, faithlessness, and tyranny, and also Knolles's central themes of providence and the frailty of passing worldly glory. Following their epic struggle Timur imprisons Bayezid I and declares: 'Behold a proud and cruell man, he deserveth to be chastised accordingly, and bee made an example unto all the proud and cruell of the world'. Famously, Timur kept the sultan in an iron cage, parading him around his kingdom as a trophy and using him as a footstool when mounting his horse, all of which humiliations were done 'not so much for the hatred to the man, as to manifest the just judgement of God against the arrogant follie of the proud'.[54] For Knolles, history itself is not mere events, such as the battle of Ankara, but rather a moral drama, whose episodes vividly illustrate the workings of God.

Tyranny and the Ottoman state

Knolles's depiction of Bayezid I rests not only on the sultan's supposed personal failings but also Knolles's underlying conception of the Ottoman polity as a tyranny in the sense of its political structure. While of course the notion of tyranny had a pejorative force, it was not simply a term of abuse. Rather, it was a fundamental category of political description, used to explain and characterise a state's political structure and legitimacy, or lack thereof, deriving ultimately from Aristotle but also ubiquitous in early modern political theory and writing.[55]

In the *Politics* Aristotle defines tyranny, in basic terms, as a debased form of monarchy where the ruler governs on whim rather than law, and in his own selfish interest rather than that of the community. Its central feature is despotic and absolute government; while monarchy is analogous to the management of a household, tyranny is like the rule of a master over a slave, and this feature is common to all forms of tyranny. However, Aristotle nuances this account by defining three sub-categories. In addition to the debased monarch who rules with arbitrary power over all, he also includes the elected military dictator, and the hereditary but legitimate despotic tyrant common amongst 'barbarians' (especially 'Asiatic' ones).[56] Rulers in this final category of

polity rule their subjects as slaves, but within the law, and since their barbaric subjects are naturally servile, this kind of government is not illegitimate, nor plagued by the same instability as common tyranny, though it would not be tolerated by a 'free' people (i.e. the Greeks). As legitimate forms of rule these two latter categories of tyranny are also included in Aristotle's discussion of varieties of monarchy.[57]

Knolles's writing combines elements of this discussion, specifically tyranny as debased monarchy, and as the hereditary despotism common amongst 'barbarians', to describe the Ottoman state. Knolles begins by emphasising the despotic character of Ottoman rule, that is, that it is analogous to the rule of the master over the slave:

> The *Othoman* government in this his so great an empire is altogether like the government of the master over his slave, and indeed meere tyrannicall: for the great Sultan is so absolute a lord of all things within the compasse of his empire, that all his subjects and people be they never so great, doe call themselves his slave and not his subjects: neither hath any man power over himselfe, much lesse is he lord of the house wherein he dwelleth, or of the land which he tilleth … Neither is any man in that empire so great or yet so farre in favour with the great Sultan, as that he can assure himselfe of his life, much lesse of his present fortune or state, longer than it pleaseth the Grand Signior.[58]

Here Knolles is broadly describing the *Kul* and *Timar* systems,[59] at least as they were portrayed in his sources, the first of which he extends into the organising principle of Ottoman society at large. However, while he is ostensibly describing Ottoman institutions his account is fundamentally recognisable as the tyranny of the Aristotelean tradition of political philosophy. The sultan is presented as an 'absolute' and 'arbitrary' ruler with no limitations placed upon his power, and the system is based upon violence and rapine instead of law, and fear instead of security. Again following Aristotle's discussion Knolles turns immediately to explaining how this tyranny sustains itself:

> In which so absolute a soveraignetie (by any free borne people not to be endured) the tyrant preserveth himselfe by two most especiall meanes: first by taking of all arms from his naturall subjects; and then by putting the same and all things els concerning the state and the government thereof into the hands of the Apostata or renegate Christians, whom for most part every third, fourth or fift year

> (or oftener if his need so require) he taketh in their childhood from their miserable parents, as his tenths or tribute children.[60]

Once more while Knolles is discussing an Ottoman practice - *devşirme*, a source of horror and fascination for contemporary European authors – he assimilates this into the parameters of a broadly Aristotelean framework.[61] In this passage we can also see echoes of Aristotle's 'barbarian' Tyrant, who rules despotically but lawfully over willing subjects. Thus, the Ottoman Empire is an Asiatic monarchy, hereditary, with a relatively stable succession over a long period, whose population is servile in its 'cheerefull and almost incredible obedience unto their princes and Sultans'. However, while Aristotle considers this a form of lawful monarchy, for Knolles it is crucial to deny this legitimacy to the Ottoman state, though it is useful to be able to account for its longevity and success. His strategy for doing so relies upon the concept of 'natural law', which again is expressed in terms familiar from the Aristotelean tradition. If lawful rule is modelled on the type of the household or family, what could be more in violation of these universal laws than the slaying of kin for political reasons, such as Suleiman I's execution of his son Mustapha (an episode which Knolles explicitly relates to the biblical Cain and Able), or the killing of rival heirs to the throne upon succession.[62]

> As for the kind law of nature, what can be thereunto more contrarie, than for the father most unaturally to embrue his hands in the bloud of his owne children? And the brother to become the bloudie executioner of his owne brethren? A common matter amongst *Othoman* Emperours. All of which most execrable and inhumane murthers they cover with the pretended saftie of their state…[63]

Similarly, in his discussion of *devşirme*, Knolles argues that the upside-down logic of tyranny scandalously subverts the family, co-opting children as apostate soldiers and officers of state. Through these rhetorical means Knolles is able to deny political legitimacy to the Ottomans in language that is grounded in the logic and terminology of the political tradition in which he is operating (and through which he is able to describe and account for the Ottoman Empire). However, Knolles's relationship with Aristotelean political philosophy is not deterministic, and radically different positions on the Ottoman state could be sewn from the same cloth. A case in point is Bodin's positive view of the Ottomans, which denies that they are a tyranny, extrapolating from the

Aristotelian concept of lawful despotism and the descriptions of French orientalists such as Guillaume Postel. For Bodin the Ottoman state is a model of religious toleration and meritocracy, the *Kul* are not slaves in any meaningful sense, and the Turks have no particular monopoly on unsavoury political killings (but have achieved enviable political stability).[64] Though Knolles is also perfectly capable of praising the Ottoman state, notably in terms of its military efficiency, there are fundamental contrasts between him and Bodin on its character and legitimacy, and these are all the more striking as they are retained in Knolles's own translation of Bodin, *The Six Books of a Commonweale*.

Knolles's was not the only late-sixteenth-century European author to discuss broadly Aristotelian notions of structural tyranny and despotic government. Botero used a similar paradigm to describe the Ottoman state, while Giles Fletcher used similar concepts to analyse the Muscovite state.[65] However, while it is not possible to say with certainty whether Knolles borrowed this paradigm from another author, it is certain that this form of political description, heavily shaped by the Aristotelian philosophy that had made up much of the curriculum during his time at Lincoln college, would have provided a familiar and comprehensible constitutional vocabulary to an author of Knolles's era and education. Knolles's discussion of the Ottomans is not, however, to be mistaken for an early sighting of theory of 'Oriental Despotism', which came to prominence in the eighteenth century, and was most famously propounded by Montesquieu.[66] Though discussions of the supposed systematic tyranny of the Ottomans certainly played a role in the long development of that discourse, in the late-sixteenth century ideas of oriental tyranny and despotic government were both less precise, and less theoretically abstracted, than the formulations that they took on in the early eighteenth century (i.e. Montesquiue's Oriental Despotism, and the debates it spawned). For Knolles the servility of the Turks is not a function of the climate in which they live (at least not explicitly, as it is for Bodin and many later authors), nor is their despotic government. Further, one gets no sense that the 'orient' is universally Tyrannical, primarily because Knolles makes no attempt to develop a general theory beyond his account of the Ottoman state. Rather, for Knolles it is tyranny that has made the naturally 'fierce' and 'warlike' Turks – who are after all a 'Scythian' northern people – emasculated and servile by denying them trade and the practice of arms. Tyranny acts as a perverse inversion of true monarchy; just as the virtuous renaissance monarch cultivates the good life in his kingdom

and subjects, so the Tyrant impoverishes his charges in both a material and spiritual sense.

To early modern Englishmen the Ottoman Empire was the very axiom of tyranny and arbitrary government. Though Knolles's views are particularly schematic, one is tempted to say academic, most lengthy and detailed early modern English accounts of the Ottoman Empire depicted its polity as a tyranny, or a state founded and sustained on the principle of slavery, where the persons, property, liberty, and life of the subjects belonged directly to the ruler. This concept is even strongly evident in the writing of contemporaries who had actually travelled to the Ottoman Empire such as George Sandys and Fynes Moryson. Neither was the characterisation of the Ottoman state as a tyranny limited to learned genres such as history, geography, political philosophy, and the more literary travel accounts. Commonplace images of the Ottoman sultan as a tyrant unrestrained by laws or morals in either his actions or passions, permeate both learned and more popular depictions of the Turks such as ballads and plays, though these are beyond the scope of the present study.

'The present terrour of the world'

Nowhere is the nexus between Knolles's synthesis of his sources and the influence his work had upon later early modern English writing more apparent than in the cultural history of Knolles's best known turn of phrase:

> The glorious Empire of the Turkes, the present terrour of the world, hath amongst other things nothing in it more wonderfull or strange, than the poore beginning of itselfe…[67]

The epithet 'the present terror of the world' has received substantial scholarly attention and is quoted by virtually every critic writing on early modern English accounts of the Ottomans, including Chew, Matar, Vitkus, Dimmock, Barbour, Burton, and MacLean.[68] Several of these scholars extrapolate from this phrase an analogy for early modern English perceptions of the Ottoman Turks in general. It is taken to reflect English reactions to the rapid military expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the early- to mid-sixteenth century and its fearfully alien religious and cultural character. It is also presented as embodying the characteristic ambiguity and ambivalence of early modern depictions of the Turks; the Ottomans are at once 'glorious' and the 'terrour of

the world', provoking both fear and fascination.[69] However, while these interpretations certainly capture some of the flavour of English writing on the Turks, none of these scholars widen their inquiry beyond Knolles's usage to view this term in the context of the continental discourse from which he derived it.

Although it is probable that Knolles was the first to apply the 'terror of the world' to the Ottomans, he certainly did not coin the expression, and it appears in a number of mid- to late-sixteenth-century sources. This phrase was most often applied to Timur, as noted earlier a popular literary figure. Paolo Giovio's *Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium* (1551) says of Timur that he was called 'orbis terror & clades Orientis' ('terror of the world and scourge of the east'). John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1583) says '*Seb. Munsterus* writing of this Tammerlanes, recordeth that he … was called *terror orbis*, the terror of the world'. Nor was this description limited to chroniclers such as Foxe, Münster, or Giovio. Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1590) uses the term to describe Timur no fewer than eight times.[70] Giovio and Münster are of particular significance here as they are both listed as sources by Knolles.

The phrase 'terror of the world' also appears in a number of other late-sixteenth-century usages, often sharing striking thematic overlaps with the story of Timur. The first identifiable theme is barbarian invaders who serve as the instrument of divine punishment upon the wicked. The so called 'Bishop's Bible', sponsored by Archbishop Mathew Parker, gives an explanatory note to Ezekiel which says of 'elam', a fallen kingdom listed with Assyria, Meshech, Tubal, and Edom, 'They which being a lyve were a terrour to the worlde'. Later, seventeenth-century examples apply the phrase to Attila and the Scythians. The second theme is powerful monarchs, often those from the east or regarded as tyrants and associated with rapid imperial conquest or military success. Thomas Lodge's *The famous, true and historicall life of Robert second Duke of Normandy* (1591) has 'Behenzar' the 'Souldan of *Babylon*' include the term amongst his titles. Loys le Roy's *Aristotles Politiques* refers to 'Xerxes King of Persia, who had ben the terror of the world'. Similarly, *Albions England, or historicall map of the same Island* (1586) applies this phrase to Rome, as does Thomas Kyd's translation of Robert Garnier's *Cornellia*.[71] The third theme is the downfall of great men through hubris, such as Xerxes and Brutus, the latter of who *The lamentable tragedie of Locrine* (1595) introduces as 'So valiant *Brute* the terror of the world'.[72] The fourth, and final, theme is mutability, the rise and fall of empires and great men. George More's *A demonstration of God in his workes against all*

such as eyther in word or life deny there is a God (1597) uses the term in his discussion of the Prophecy of Daniel and the empires of the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans who all 'from a small and base beginning, waxed the wonder and terror of the world'.[73]

In the late-sixteenth century, the expression 'terror of the world' was a recognisable commonplace with several related thematic associations. These centred upon the story of Timur and the moral lessons his story was often taken to illustrate: the ruthlessness necessary for conquest; the transience of worldly glory; divine punishment of hubris and tyranny; and the working of providence. Knolles's usage of the 'terror of the world' is entirely consistent with this picture, and I would suggest his application of this term to the Ottomans is a deliberate rhetorical gambit meant to emphasise and introduce the major themes of his history, as discussed earlier.[74]

Following the publication of Knolles's history numerous early modern authors took up his identification of the Ottomans as the 'terror of the world', though previous associations with Timur, Rome, Attila, Cæsar, Xerxes, and so forth, continued. For example, Arthur Dent's contemporary exposition upon revelation *The Ruine of Rome* (1603) claimed that:

> the preaching of the Gospell by *Luther* & his successors, hath dispersed the former darkenesse, and beaten downe Poperie: so also hath it driven backe the Turke, and taken from us all feare of him, which in former ages, was the terrour of the worlde...[75]

In less triumphant tone Thomas Fuller's *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (1639) frothed that it was the judgement of god that suffered 'this unregarded people to grow into the terrour of the world for the punishment of Christians'.[76] William Strong described 'The Turkish Empyre' as 'now the terrour of the world'.[77] Many of those who applied this description to the Turks followed Knolles in using it to discuss the humble origins of the Ottoman Empire (perhaps also meaning to imply that it too would pass). Geographer John Speed, whose potted history of the Turks was largely drawn from Knolles, also borrowed his opening sentence, 'The *Turke* is admired for nothing more, then his sodaine advancement to so great an Empire … which is become now a terrour to the whole world'.[78] Thomas Urquhart, *Ekskybalauron* (1652), compared the lowly origins of 'the Ottoman family, now the terrour of the world' to the Goths and Huns.[79] Andrew Moore's *A Compendious History of the Turks* (1660), a work that is essentially a shortened pirate edition of Knolles's *Generall Historie*, began:

> It is neither agreed on by the best writers, nor well known to the *Turks* themselves, from whence the Empire of this barbarous Nation, the worlds present terrour, first took its small & obscure beginning.[80]

The degree to which the 'present terror of the world' was taken up by English authors as a description of the Turks and the Ottoman dynasty throughout the seventeenth century, is indicative of the significance of Knolles's history in shaping English depictions of the Turks. His account did not merely reflect wider English writing – above all it echoed his continental sources – it became the pivotal learned reference point to which much later writing aligned itself, shaping the ideas, facts, and language of an existing continental discourse on the Turks into an authoritative form for an early modern English audience.

Reception

Knolles's appeal was his ability to formulate for a contemporary audience a coherent and striking image of the Ottomans, which seemed to render the totality of its complex history and meaning in comprehensive and memorable terms. The remainder of this chapter will explore the reception and lasting impact of the *Generall Historie*, from its publishing history, to its readers and influence, and argue that it became the most authoritative and widely cited English account of the Turks, shaping the form and tone of English writing throughout the seventeenth and even into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The publishing history of this work, which appeared in six updated editions in 1603, 1610, 1621, 1631, 1638, and 1687, is complex.[81] This was an expensive work to produce; the first edition of 1603 is around twelve hundred pages of folio, illustrated with numerous engravings, which were well executed by English standards, though copied from continental sources. To spread these costs it was part funded by the prominent Stationers George Bishop and John Norton (who between them owned half of the copy), though printed by Adam Islip (who owned the remainder).[82] Bishop, who owned a quarter of the copy, was a leading bookseller and pre-eminent member of the Company, who later in his career frequently invested in parts of books. The repeated publication and updating of later editions by Islip is a clear indication of this work's success and popularity, especially given the expense and investment involved. Indeed it would probably have seen several more editions beyond six had the 1638 edition not been the subject of a legal dispute in the court of the Stationers' Company. Following Bishop's

death in 1611 his widow had transferred 'his part of Turkish History' along with diverse other copies and parts of copies to Thomas Adams.[83] Sixteen years later, in 1627, this part of the copy was entered in the Registers to Andrew Hebb.[84] On the 7 August 1637 Hebb attempted to assert his ownership of his part of the 'Turkish History' in the Stationers' Court (i.e. immediately preceding the publication of the 1638 edition).[85] Though Islip claimed that the division of the copy had been limited to the first impression, by the 30 April 1638 the court had decided in favour of Hebb.[86] This court decision may well have been a crucial factor in making the 1638 edition of the *Generall Historie* the final one in its original format, though it also shows that in Hebb's opinion at least it was still a valuable enough commodity to fight over. A further consideration must have been the death of Adam Islip in 1639, although it should be noted that his widow Susan Islip continued working as a stationer until 1661.[87] At any rate this was the last edition, passing over Moore's cribbed *Compendious History of the Turks* (1660), until the massively expanded edition of 1687, which collected together the various continuations of Knolles with the writings of Paul Rycaut, who in many ways supplanted Knolles as the English authority on the Turks, and to whom I shall turn in Chapter 4.

Assessing the popularity and readership of specific early modern authors is a difficult task. Anecdotally it has long been possible to conjecture Knolles's popularity far into the eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries through association with literary luminaries such as Samuel Johnson, Lord Byron, and Robert Southey (in a letter to Samuel Coleridge no less).[88] Seventeenth-century archival evidence also exists though it is naturally fragmentary. For instance, the orientalist and traveller John Greaves (1602–1652) included both Knolles and Raleigh's historical works amongst a list of 'the choysest books of severall artes & sciences'.[89] The cost of this work evidently did not impede its popularity; in 1609 a letter of William Trumbull (d. 1635), noted to his friend the merchant Lionel Wake that a copy of the *Generall Historie* would cost 18 shillings.[90] By the mid-century Knolles was established as a historical authority. F.J Levy's survey of twenty-seven inventories contained in the records of the London Committee for Sequestration of 1643, which he took to represent a 'fair cross-section of gentry libraries', accounted Knolles the second most popular historical author after Camden.[91] Neither did Knolles's popularity wane in the late-seventeenth century. In 1697 John Evelyn included Knolles in that most peculiar list of lists, his *Numismata*, amongst 'Historians, Antiquaries, Critics, Philologers…' alongside Leland, Purchas, Speede, Camden, Stow, Grafton, Fuller,

Raleigh, Edwin and George Sandys, and ancient authorities such as Bede and Gildas.[92] Knolles's continued standing as a historian of repute is also reflected by his notable presence among late-century inventories and auction lists. For example, following the death of Lord Chief Justice Sir Henry Pollexfen, in 1691, an inventory was made of his 326 books, amongst which were twenty-one historical works, including both Knolles and Rycaut's related volume.[93] In 1694 Knolles's work was also amongst volumes, formerly belonging to the antiquarian Elias Ashmole (d. 1692), to be auctioned. Similarly the lists of stock to auctioned following the deaths of the booksellers Charles Mearne (d. 1687) and James Partridge (d. 1695) contained several editions of Knolles's, by then, classic work.

References such as these offer glimpses of the esteem in which Knolles was held as a historical author throughout the seventeenth century. However, the recent digitisation of an exceptionally large volume of early modern writing in text searchable format through the *Early English Books Online-Text Creation Partnership* (EEBO-TCP) enables researchers to identify contemporary printed references in a number not previously possible.[94] These printed citations, responses, and reports give us a much clearer, though also necessarily uneven, picture of early modern readings of Knolles and his importance as an English authority on the Turks.

The *Generall Historie* rapidly became a point of reference for other Englishmen who wished to write on the Ottomans, and was frequently cited in marginal references or text itself. Samuel Purchas's voluminous cosmography *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1613) included a section titled 'Of the Turkish Nation' described as 'the summe of the large worke of M. *Knolles*, whom I principally follow'.[95] He also cited Knolles throughout that work, at times comparing him to other available accounts such as Menavino (whom Purchas held in higher esteem as an 'eyewitnes').[96] In addition to basing sections on Knolles, comparing him to other authorities and using him as a reference for numerous details Purchas frequently uses him as a catchall reference in several works, for instance, *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625) notes 'The Reader may informe himselfe more fully… in *Knolles*, or other Writers of the *Turkish* Sorie [*sic*]'.[97] Similarly George Sandys's *A Relation of a Journey* (1615) includes a section on 'The History of the Turks' that is lifted entirely from Knolles's first book.[98] Purchas and Sandys show that by 1615 Knolles was already an established English authority on the Turks, to whom internationally minded educated English gentlemen could, and did, turn, alongside more established continental figures.

Further, as both Purchas and Sandys themselves went on to be widely cited on the Turks, it is interesting to note the degree to which both of their accounts depended on Knolles to contextualise the origins and history of the Turks.

Knolles was frequently cited as an authority on the Turks by authors writing geographies, histories, and cosmographies. Peter Heylyn seems to have been fond of Knolles, referencing him repeatedly in *Microcosmos* (1625), *The historie of that most famous saint and souldier of Christ Jesus St. George of Cappadocia* (1631), and his *Cosmographie* (1652). Thomas Fuller's *Historie of the Holy Warre* cites Knolles in marginal references on the topic of (Seljuk) Turkish history as a prelude to his central topic, the crusades.[99] Samuel Clarke's hackneyed *A geographical description of all the countries in the known world* (1657), includes a section on the Ottomans that is simply an abridged copy of Knolles's conclusion, ending 'see *Knolles* his discourse hereof'.[100] Many of these scholars cite Knolles alongside continental authorities showing how he became, for Englishmen at least, a central part of the established discourse of Turkish history. Indeed though Knolles was the first such English author to be widely cited in England on the Turks, he was not the only one. For example, Heylyn's *The historie of the most famous saint and souldier of Christ Jesus* cites Knolles as a source, but later on the same page also mentions 'Master *Sam. Purchas*, out of *Busbequius* [Busbeqc]'.[101] Similarly while Alexander Ross's *Pansebeia* (1655) cites Knolles on several points regarding Islam and the Turks he usually appears alongside continental authorities such as 'Borrius, Lanicerus [i.e. Lonicer], Knolles, Camerarius, Jovius [i.e. Giovio] …' or with other English authors, for example, 'Georgevitz, Knolles, Purchas …'.[102] Another good example is Robert Baron's annotations on his oriental play *Mirza* that states 'for the quality of the *Ottoman* Empire, I refer the Reader to the most elaborate, and accurate discourse of M. *Sandys*, and M. *Knolles* his *Turkish History*'.[103] Knolles became a catchall reference to Turkish history, as he was in *An account of the English dramatic poets* that cites him as a general work on the events of Oriental history.[104]

Given the prevalence of religious writing in the period it is no surprise to find Knolles drawn on by numerous authors as a source of moral *exempla* in religious sermons and tracts. Turkish history, as described in Knolles, presented many enlivening colourful and exotic incidents. The future bishop of Lincoln, Robert Sanderson, cited Knolles as source for the 'memorable' story of 'Amurath the great Turke' and his sudden and brutal beheading of his much beloved 'beautiful minion Irene', as a 'barbarous' example of mastering one's own will in a sermon on

the same.[105] What is most interesting is how transparently this kind of sermon often follows the morals that Knolles himself drew from these episodes. For instance, William Narne's *Christs starre* (1625) cites the story of Abraham Bassa, a favourite of Suleiman's who was executed when he fell from grace. Narne repeats Knolles's concluding characterisation of Abraham as the 'the scorne of Fortune, the lamentable spectacle of mans fragilitie' word for word.[106] A second example, which takes not only a lengthy quotation from Knolles but also repeats the moral which he draws, is in Abednego Seller's *The devout communicant* (1686). Seller relates a story of Selim I and his deathbed restitution of goods unjustly taken from Persian Merchants, and draws the same comparison: 'Where are the Christians who think themselves thus obliged? And how few are there of us, who do not fall short of these Examples of *Heathens* and *Mahometans*?'[107] These authors not only assimilated the incidents of Turkish history as Knolles presented them but also the moralising interpretations he attributed to them.

While we can certainly observe some of the morals that Knolles attributed to Turkish history spreading out into authors who quoted him, his history also contained much material ripe for appropriation. *The Prophesie of a Turk* was a short pamphlet extracted from the *Generall Historie* and printed by Andrew Sowle, a committed Quaker, and leading publisher of early Quaker works.[108] The Prophecy itself concerns 'the Downfall of Mahometanism and of the setting up the Kingdom and Glory of Christ [*sic*]', a topic on which Sowle, as a Quaker, and the traditionalist Knolles would have had very different opinions. In tune with his optimistic title, Sowle omits Knolles's detailed and grisly description of the brutal execution of the prophetic dervish. Knolles was assiduous in avoiding any hint of religious division in his history, despite this, Sowle, whose stock in trade was religious controversy, could still appropriate this material for his own ends.

Knolles is cited, copied, and appropriated by more seventeenth-century authors than it is possible or desirable to catalogue here. Though this survey is not exhaustive it does suggest some clear trends. Firstly, Knolles rapidly became *the* English authority on the Turks, turned to by those seeking a comprehensive account of Turkish History alongside a range of more established figures such as Giovio, Barleti, and Busbeqc, and other representatives of the developed continental discourse. Secondly, Knolles's work served to underpin later accounts such as those of Purchas and Sandys (and as we shall see in the following chapter even Rycaut), who were also increasingly cited on the Turks throughout the seventeenth century. Thirdly, in addition to giving an

authoritative account, Knolles was frequently drawn on for anecdotal detail by a very broad range of authors across the spectrum from geographers and historians, to playwrights and pamphleteers, to authors of military treatises, and sermons. The very range of figures who cite and draw upon Knolles's account throughout the seventeenth century is again testament to his lasting popularity. Revealingly, while some figures simply drew anecdotes from Knolles's account, others repeated the morals and interpretations that he attributed to Turkish history. In the end Knolles's importance is not simply that he helped to transmit a continental discourse of Turkish history into England – though he certainly did that – but also the distinctive form and expression he gave to it.

4
Trade, Diplomacy, and History

So far this book has focused upon the development of a discourse of Turkish history in England by the seventeenth century, albeit one that continued to draw upon continental writing. I have argued that in response to the Ottoman advance into Europe there evolved a wider European historiographical tradition and have traced its transmission into and adoption in England. In particular I have explored the ways in which its English manifestations were shaped by specific English contexts from the late years of Henry VIII's reign to the development of the pamphlet news market in the late-sixteenth century. I have also shown how this process was driven by and how it reacted to international events and conflicts such as the Long War of 1593–1606. I have also examined one of the most important works of this discourse – Knolles's *Generall Historie* in detail – and argued that the form given to this discourse by Knolles was of lasting importance in shaping early modern English understandings of Turkish history. This chapter will change tack somewhat to explore the developing early modern Anglo–Ottoman economic and diplomatic relationship and how it affected English perceptions of the Turks. Specifically, I will look at how the writing of Turkish history in England and accounts of Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy frequently overlapped and entangled. Materials generated by the Levant trade and Anglo–Ottoman diplomacy found their way into, and came to inform, historical writing on the Turks, sometimes even dictating its concerns as the seventeenth century progressed. However, established historical writing on the Turks, and its forms, content, and tropes, also came to shape the published accounts of the trade itself.

One effect of this interdependence was the degree of ambivalence evident in the attitudes of English authors who wrote to justify or

publicise Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy. While it is tempting to view authors who argued for the benefits of economic contact with the Turks, as a counter-current to the overwhelmingly pejorative tone of much English writing concerned with the Ottoman advance into Europe, this would be misleading and simplistic. Although a focus on trade and diplomacy did indeed sometimes soften the terms in which the Turks were discussed, as we shall see, these authors tended to retain the fundamental reference points and commonplaces of contemporary writing, and these might easily sit alongside a hard-headed appreciation of economic and political factors.

In 1580 formal trade capitulations to English merchants operating in the Ottoman Empire were granted by Sultan Murad III (1546–1595) to William Harborne (though not ratified until 1583).[1] Harborne was a London merchant who had first acquired individual trade concessions for himself and his backers Francis Osborne and Richard Staper in 1579. However, he had also opened a friendly diplomatic correspondence between Elizabeth I and Murad III, leading to the formal agreement of the following year.[2] Under the terms of this agreement English merchants were to have freedom of movement, and to avoid unlawful taxation and seizures of goods by Ottoman officials. Further, they were not to be held against the unpaid debts of others, and were to be responsible for administering their own affairs and community. Harborne himself became the first English ambassador at Constantinople (often referred to in English documents as simply 'the Porte'), serving 1582–1588, with a dual brief to protect the interests of the merchants and the Company, and conduct diplomacy on behalf of the crown.

The English Levant trade grew so rapidly that by the 1620s England was 'Christian Europe's major trading partner with the Ottomans'.[3] Historian Alfred C. Wood estimated that by 1635 the Levant Company was exporting 24,000 to 30,000 pieces of cloth to the Levant annually. Ambassador Thomas Roe (1621–1628) estimated the Company's trade to be worth £250,000 in exports with an almost equally valuable import trade.[4] The widely read early modern trade guide, the *Merchants Mappe* (1638), by former Levant Merchant and currant importer Lewis Roberts, heaped praise on

> the societie of *merchants trading into the levant Seas*, known by the name of the *Turkie Company*, which now wee finde to be growne to that height, that (without comparison) it is the most flourishing and most beneficiall *Company* to the Common-wealth of any in *England* of all other whatsoever…[5]

The establishment of regular trade routes, the number of diplomats and merchants resident in Ottoman lands, and the circulation of goods, all increased English contact with, and awareness of, the Ottoman Empire and its peoples. It was not long before these interactions began to leave their imprint upon English writing on the Turks. Not only did numerous figures who had been involved in the Levant trade (ambassadors, consuls, chaplains, and merchants) write works on the Turks, their lands, and their peoples, but so did numerous travellers who had moved along trade routes (both on English ships and along established routes such as through Venice), and often lodged with ambassadors and factors in their journeys. Beyond authors who had direct experience of the Levant, Englishmen writing on the Turks in the seventeenth century came increasingly to draw on secondary sources of information such as documents and accounts related to the trade, and consequently the concerns of merchants and diplomats began to be reflected in the attitudes these authors articulated.

English diplomacy and trade with the Ottomans went hand in hand throughout the early modern period. The late years of Elizabeth I's reign, when the Levant trade was established, was a time when English ties with the Ottoman Empire were particularly driven by *realpolitik* as well as commerce. Though there was a clear need for an ambassador to serve as a representative in Constantinople to protect and uphold the rights of English merchants, this sat uneasily alongside a more discreet and controversial anti-Spanish agenda, which sought to exploit continuing Spanish–Ottoman conflict in the Mediterranean.[6] Acting on Secretary of State Francis Walsingham's instructions, Harborne sought to draw the Ottomans into attacking the Spanish, and repeatedly endeavoured to sabotage Ottoman–Spanish peace negotiations, policies which his successor Edward Barton (ambassador 1588–1598) continued. Susan Skilliter has shown how leaks, probably originating with translators employed by the English, led to the dissemination across the continent of copies of the diplomatic 'petitions', through which these secret Anglo–Ottoman negotiations were conducted. As a result, rumours of English collaboration with the infidel were rife throughout late-sixteenth-century Europe, though strenuously denied by Elizabeth I.[7]

Richard Hakluyt

The growing commercial importance of the Levant trade, the precedent of historical writing on the Turks, and controversy over the budding Anglo–Ottoman relationship were all reflected in the works of

Richard Hakluyt. Hakluyt was a leading geographer, and publicist for English commercial and colonial ventures, and his *Principal Navigations* (1589, 1598–1600) – a gargantuan edited collection of travel narratives, geographical descriptions, and documents relating to trade – contained extensive materials relating to the establishment of the Levant trade and Harbone's embassy in particular. Hakluyt's description of the genesis of Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy is based upon first-hand accounts and official documents. However, as a London-based armchair scholar, rather than a diplomat or merchant himself, his selection, presentation, and editing, of this material is as shaped by the patronage circles in which he moved, and contemporary anxieties about the Turks, as any actual encounter between English diplomats and merchants and Ottoman officials and subjects. In particular Hakluyt presents Anglo–Ottoman diplomacy as ancillary to the Levant trade he is trying to promote, thus denying that it was a part of a wider strategy of anti-Spanish collusion with a nation of Islamic 'misbeleevers', an argument that echoed Elizabeth I's own position on the matter.

Hakluyt's writing on the Turks is also of interest because of the comparisons and contrasts that can be drawn between him and his contemporary the historian Richard Knolles, the focus of the previous chapter. The writing and publication contexts of these men's central works overlapped extensively. The three volumes of the second edition of the *Principal Navigations* appeared across the years 1598–1600, while Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* was published in 1603. Hakluyt's work was printed for the stationers Robert Barker, George Bishop, and Ralph Newberry, then *de facto* Royal Printers (as deputies to the semi-retired Christopher Barker). Knolles's volume was printed by Adam Islip, but one-quarter of the costs (and profit) belonged to the same George Bishop, a prominent bookseller and publisher who frequently invested in part ownership of copies late in his career. Although these books appeared in London within five years of each other, and were partially funded by the same stationer, they articulated radically different English engagements with the Ottoman Empire, its history, and its meanings. For Knolles, the Ottoman Empire was the latest chapter of the wider history of the Turks and their defining conflict with Christendom, reaching back to the habits of quasi-mythical 'Scythian' ancestors, and the events of the Crusades. Hakluyt, in contrast, was chiefly concerned with the Ottoman Empire because it was a significant, successful, and rapidly expanding part of English overseas trading activity at the time when he wrote.

In the dedication to the first edition of his *Principall Navigations* (1589) Hakluyt wrote on the topic of the expansion of English trade and exploration across the globe:

> For, which of the kings of this land before her Majesty [Elizabeth I], had theyr banners ever seene in the Caspian Sea? which of them hath ever dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Majesty hath done …. who ever saw before this regiment, an English Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople? who ever found English Consuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon [Baghdad], at Balsara [Basra], and which is more, who ever heard of Englishmen at Goa before now?[8]

The establishment of English trade with the Ottomans, and an ambassador at Constantinople, is presented as merely one of a procession of English commercial ventures marching in triumph across the international stage from Persia to Goa. However, in the following decades the success of trade with the Ottomans (which of course included Tripoli, Aleppo, Baghdad, and Basra) far outstripped trade in Persia and India to become the dominant English long-distance trade interest. The massively expanded second edition of the *Principal Navigations* (1598–1600), focused upon the Levant trade to a far greater degree.[9] As Hakluyt wrote in 1599, in the dedication to the second volume:

> I have here put downe at large the happie renuing and much increasing of our interrupted trade in all the *Levant*, accomplished by the great charges and speciall industrie of the worshipfull and worthy Citizens, Sir *Edward Osborne* Knight, M. *Richard Staper*, and M. *William Hareborne*, together with the league for traffike onely betweene her Majestie and the *Grand Signior*, with the great privileges, immunities, and favours obteyned of his imperiall Highnesse in that behalfe, the admissions and residencies of our Ambassadours in his Stately Porch, and the great good and Christian offices which her Sacred Majestie by her extraordinary favour in that Court hath done for the king and kingedome of *Poland*, and other Christian Princes…[10]

The primary reason that the Ottoman Empire is of interest to Hakluyt is because of the burgeoning English Levant trade. However, Hakluyt's celebration of trade also has a notably defensive tone. He is at pains to spell out explicitly that this is a 'league for traffike onely', as

opposed to an alliance with the Turks in a broader sense, a far more controversial proposition. Indeed, Hakluyt goes further, highlighting recent Ottoman–Polish peace negotiations as a positive outcome of English diplomacy. As we shall see, it seems likely that here Hakluyt is not merely treading carefully but rather rehearsing what amounts to an official position on Anglo–Ottoman diplomacy and trade, one which was intimately connected to ongoing hostilities between the English and Spanish.

In the above passage Hakluyt is responding to the widespread, and as it turns out well-founded, rumours of secret Anglo–Ottoman anti-Spanish negotiations. Damaging accusations of English collaboration with the infidel, rife across Europe since the inception of the trade, had not been helped by the highly embarrassing presence of ambassador Barton on campaign with the Ottoman army in Hungary in 1596 (on Sultan Mehmed III's request, but without the permission of Elizabeth). According to the contemporary English traveller Fynes Moryson, who carried letters from Barton to Elizabeth I:

> this his [i.e. Barton's] journey into Hungary, made the Queene of England much offended with him, for that he had borne the English Armes uppon his Tent, whereof the French Ambassador accused him to the Emperor, and the French King, who expostulated with the Queene that her Armes should be borne in the Turkes Campe against christians.[11]

It may be partly in response to this episode that Hakluyt was keen to emphasise the role that Barton had earlier played in the negotiation of peace between the Ottomans and the Polish in 1590, thus arguing that the English used their influence on the Ottomans for the good of Christendom. He underlines this claim by including a transcript of 'The letters of Sinan Bassa chiefe counsellour to Sultan Murad Can the Grand Signior, to the sacred Majestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, shewing that upon her request, and for her sake especially, hee graunted peace unto the King and kingdome of Poland'.[12] Intriguingly, Sir William Foster observes that Hakluyt's published transcription of this letter, in both Latin and English, omitted Sinan's following exhortation to Elizabeth to continue war on Spain:

> [I]t is fitting that Your Highness, allying yourself with the kingdom of Poland, should not interrupt your war with the King of Spain, with whom you have been waging war for many years – nay rather, you

> should continue ... When all things necessary have been prepared on this side also, the fleet shall very soon be sent against Spain and bring aid to Your Highness.[13]

Although Sinan's promised Ottoman fleet was not forthcoming, including this passage would have directly contradicted Hakluyt's protestations that the Anglo–Ottoman league was for 'traffike onely'. It seems likely that Hakluyt's transcription therefore edited this passage from Sinan's letter to strengthen its propaganda value.

Hakluyt's strategy of using Barton's involvement in Polish–Ottoman peace negotiations in 1590 to deny Anglo–Ottoman military collusion also echoes an earlier letter from Elizabeth I to the Hapsburg Emperor Rudolph II in April 1593. This royal letter used the same gambit, denying the 'infamous libels … that we have solicited the great Turk, an enemy against Christendom, to make war against Christian princes', and emphasising that Elizabeth's 'actions of late years have manifestly declared the contrary of this false slander' since she had used her influence with the Ottomans to solicit peace with the Poles.[14] Furthermore, it seems that this line of argument remained in currency for some time. A later history of Elizabeth's reign, by William Camden, noted that in Germany in the year 1593 'there came out in print, many libels … calumniating her, as if shee had incensed the Turke to warre against all the Christian world'. Camden explains that in response to these accusations Elizabeth sent a letter to Rudolph to counter these slanders and concludes:

> [F]or certainely, shee tooke all the paines she could, for remooving the Turke from Christendome … Neither surely had she any thing to doe with the Turke, but onely to secure her subjects traffique at Turkie; to which purpose she had her agent there at *Constantinople*, as the French … and others had: there her Agent did nothing but helpe the buisinesse of her Merchants traffique, and at their owne charges.[15]

Given the similarity of Hakluyt's argument to Elizabeth's letter, and indeed Camden's later gloss on this affair and English diplomacy, it seems likely that Hakluyt was repeating what amounted to an official position on Anglo–Ottoman relations. This proposition is entirely plausible when we consider Hakluyt's patrons and connections, and the circumstances in which the *Principal Navigations* was printed. Early in Hakluyt's career he had enjoyed the support of the Clothworkers'

Company, from whose sometime master, Richard Staper, he later had access to numerous documentary sources on the Levant trade. As his career developed he enjoyed the support of Secretary of State Sir Francis Walsingham, to whom he dedicated the first edition of the *Principall Navigations*. However, by 1599 Hakluyt's main patron was the Secretary of State Sir Robert Cecil, to whom he dedicated the second and third volumes of the second edition, and through whose influence he acquired the position of prebendary of Westminster Abbey, which he occupied for the remainder of his life. In addition to dedicating both editions of this work to then serving Secretaries of State, the book itself was printed for the *de facto* Royal Printers, who were also responsible for the production of official proclamations and edicts. Taking into account the closeness of both the author and the publishers of these editions to figures at the very heart of both Elizabethan government and the Levant trade, it is unsurprising to find Hakluyt toeing what appears to be an official line regarding the aims and moral merits of Anglo–Ottoman diplomacy and trade.[16]

Hakluyt's central purpose in the sections of the *Principal Navigations* which deal with the Ottomans is to laud the grant of trade capitulations, and the Levant trade which they allowed, as beneficial to England. However, the Anglo-Ottoman diplomatic relationship, which this trade both required and fostered, was controversial in both a wider European context and England.[17] The proposition of any kind of alliance with the Turks, and the rumour of one which included military cooperation against Christian rulers, was contentious enough in 1599 to push Hakluyt to explicitly justify the Levant trade on both moral and pragmatic grounds.

> Now here if any man shall take exception against this our new trade with Turkes and misbeleevers, he shall shew himselfe a man of small experience in old and new Histories, or wilfully lead with partialitie, or some worse humour.* [Margin: 1. King cap. 5. 2. Chron. cap.2.] For who knoweth not, that king *Salomon* of old, entred into league upon necessitie with *Hiram* the king of *Tyrus*, a gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, the Genouois, Florentines, Raguseans, Venetians, and Polonians are at this day in league with the *Grand Signior*, and have beene these many yeeres, and have used trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperor of Christendome hath had league with the Turke ... Why then should that be blamed in us, which is usuall, and common to the most part of other Christian nations?[18]

Citing biblical precedent to justify the moral probity of trade with the Turks gives way to a pragmatic argument; as numerous other Christian nations trade with the Turks, and have leagues with them, why then should the English be denied these activities? As we shall see, this kind of hard-headed and expedient argument was repeated by English authors throughout the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, even while justifying the trade on its own terms, Hakluyt also felt the need to engage with both the Ottoman presence in Europe (i.e. peace with the Poles), and anxiety over the nature of their relationship with England, in language which fundamentally re-enforced the divide between 'Christian nations' and 'misbeleevers'.

Interestingly Hakluyt's advocacy of the benefits of trade does not define his attitudes towards the Turks *themselves*, and in this regard we should not contrast him too heavily with the kind of highly pejorative depictions that were to be found in the writing of contemporaries such as Knolles. Indeed the wide variety of documentary sources that Hakluyt edited and transcribed in the *Principal Navigations* included items that would not have looked out of place amongst Knolles's sources. For example, Hakluyt includes continental accounts of the Ottoman advance into the Mediterranean (i.e. the sieges of Rhodes and Famagusta) such as William Malim's English translation of Count Nestore Martinegro's *The true report of all the successe of Famagosta* (1572).[19] Of which Hakluyt says:

> Which lamentable Tragedie I have here againe revived, that the posteritie may never forget what trust may bee given to the oath of a *Mahumetan*, when hee hath advauntage and is in his choler.[20]

While this passage may seem surprising in a work that explicitly argues for maintaining a trade relationship with the Turks, it might also be read as delineating the degree of amity that Hakluyt is willing to countenance: that is, he is arguing for the need to trade with the Turks, not that they should be trusted or treated the same as Christians. This passage is strikingly similar to Knolles's contemporary reflection upon the trope of Turkish treacherousness:

> Their leagues grounded upon the law of Nations, be they with never so strong capitulations concluded, or solemnitie of oath confirmed, have with them no longer force than standeth with their owne profit, serving indeed but as snares to entangle other princes in, untill they have singled out him whom they purpose to devour...[21]

The key point here though is that Hakluyt's advocacy of the Levant trade does not imply that he necessarily viewed the Turks themselves in a positive light. It was perfectly possible for the prevalent negative stereotypes and commonplaces associated with the Turks in early modern England to sit alongside a hard-headed appreciation of the value of trade, even if supporting it did in fact tend to humanise the Turks in comparison to the charged crusading rhetoric of writers such as Knolles. Hakluyt's topic is the English Levant trade, rather than the history of the Turks *per s*e, and his narrative consists of documents, narratives, and letters, from Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy, and his glosses on these. Nonetheless, his underlying attitudes towards the Turks, and inclusion of material describing the Ottoman advance into the Mediterranean, reflect, and are comparable to contemporary historical writing on the Turks.

With the end of the protracted Anglo–Spanish conflict of 1585–1604, Anglo-Ottoman diplomacy became a good deal less cloak and dagger, although competition with other European nations such as the French, Venetians, and eventually the Dutch always remained an issue. The potential controversy of Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy in England, and indeed Europe, also seems to fade in the early–seventeenth century. However, the inherent tensions between the interest of the Levant Company, which paid for the ambassador, and the crown whose name he represented, remained apparent throughout much of the seventeenth century. Nonetheless the Levant trade grew rapidly in the early-seventeenth century, and with it an increasing number of English authors writing on the Turks began to draw upon sources informed by these economic and diplomatic interactions.

The *Generall Historie* and the Levant trade

As seventeenth-century accounts of the Turks slowly began to include sources from diplomacy and trade, these narratives also started to reflect concerns central to that material, such as the problem of North African piracy. However, these accounts also retained deeply embedded commonplaces of the Turks, their state, and their history, of the kind ubiquitous in established historical discourse. While Hakluyt's writing on Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy was keen to make the pragmatic assertion that the English were justified in trading and treating with the Turks because other European nations engaged in similar activities, this sat alongside a line of argument that sought to naturalise and justify these enterprises within a conceptual framework in which the

Turks were viewed in opposition to Christendom (i.e. Anglo-Ottoman diplomacy promotes peace). The slightly uneasy combination of the pragmatic imperative of maintaining a profitable trade with the Ottomans, with deeply ingrained pejorative images and narratives portraying the Turks as the enemy of Christendom, was a characteristic dynamic when English authors attempted to assimilate first-hand accounts from Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy into broadly historical writing.

An increasing concern with the episodes and issues of Levantine trade and diplomacy is evident in the later editions of Knolles's *Generall Historie* (1603, see Chapter 3), which appeared with continuations extending this work, by various authors in the years 1610, 1621, 1631, 1638, and 1687. While these later continuations increasingly reflected Anglo–Ottoman economic and diplomatic contacts as the seventeenth century progressed, they continued to be shaped by the forms and ideas common to historical discourse on the Turks. Indeed the balance between these tendencies reflects both the specific contexts in which these sections were written and wider English writing on the Turks and their history, which by the mid-century had reached the point where there existed established English authorities on the topic, including not only Knolles, but also figures such as George Sandys, Thomas Fuller, and Samuel Purchas.

The first edition of the *Generall Historie* in 1603 scarcely touched upon the Anglo–Ottoman relationship. It is likely that Knolles's silence on this matter reflected his sources rather than any controversy over trade or diplomacy. Knolles *did* include a transcript of a letter from Sultan Murad III to Elizabeth I in response to Barton's announcement of the English victory against the Spanish Armada in 1589. Tellingly, however, Knolles translated this letter from a printed continental source – Nikolaus von Reusner's *Epistolarum Turcicarum variorum et diversorum authorum* (1598–1600) – rather than an English one.[22] Again a contrast with Hakluyt is instructive. While Hakluyt was able to attain official state and company documents through the influence of his patrons, Knolles seems to have relied on printed continental materials, presumably acquired through his patron Peter Manwood and his connections. It seems most likely therefore that Knolles's notable reticence on the subject of trade and diplomacy comes down to a lack of access to sufficient sources on the topic, rather than an absence of interest or ideological objection to this subject.

Knolles's continuation to the second edition of 1610, cites material from travellers and diplomacy, in a way the first edition did not, and it

is clear that his access to these kinds of sources had improved greatly in the intervening years.

> [A]s also from the credible and certaine report of some such honourable minded gentlemen of our own country, as have either for their honours sake served in these late warres in Hungarie, or upon some other occasions spent some good time in travelling into the Turks dominions, but especially unto the imperiall citie of Constantinople, the chiefe seat of the Turkish Empire, and place of the Great Turks abode: amongst whom, I cannot but deservedly remember my kind friend and cousin M. *Roger Howe*, unto whose discreet and curious observations during the time of his late abode at Constantinople, I justly account my selfe for many things beholden...[23]

Knolles's cousin Howe almost certainly lodged at the ambassador's residence in Constantinople, and Knolles's 1610 continuation reflects numerous first-hand descriptions, most probably acquired by Howe from embassy staff.[24] Thus the 1610 continuation draws on informants made possible by the Levant trade, in a way that is absent from the first edition. Similarly, the life of 'Achmat I' begins with an engraving 'taken by a most skilfull workemans hand at *Constantinople*, at the cost and charge of my kind friend and cousin Master *Roger Howe*, at his late being there', unlike the engravings of the first edition that were all based on continental sources.[25]

While the 1610 continuation drew on material from travellers, the second continuation by Edward Grimeston in 1621 (Knolles having died in 1610) was the first to draw on official diplomatic documents, notably those provided by the former ambassador to the Porte, Sir Thomas Glover (served 1606–1611). However, there are still clear parallels between Knolles and Grimeston both as authors, and in the character of their continuations. Grimeston was a minor scholar and official, who like Knolles was patronised by Sir Peter Manwood, and who translated several historical cum geographical works.[26] Further, Grimeston's continuation extends the *Generall Historie* for the years 1610–1621 'according to Master *Knolles* his method',[27] complete with engravings of sultans, epigraphs, and year-by-year dynastic chronicles of battles, speeches, letters, and courtly intrigue, based on 'the best authors and intelligencers I could find that concerne this subject'.[28]

There are also similarities in their sources, although while Grimeston referred to continental chronicles, just as Knolles did, he also seems to have relied on news pamphlets to a greater extent.[29] For example,

Grimeston used the pamphlet *Newes from Spaine* (1611) for the text of the edict expelling *Moriscos* from Spain, and the pamphlet *Good newes for Christendome* (1620) to relate 'a vision seene at Medina'.[30] He also recounts several anecdotes that were reported elsewhere in print in contemporary England, though these publications do not seem to be his sources. He gives an account of a great fire at Constantinople, citing his source as the 'report of visible witnesses',[31] an event elsewhere described by the pamphlet *A wonderfull and most lamentable declaration* (1613).[32] Further, he describes in detail the funeral of Lady Anne Glover, wife of the English ambassador, though he does not include the text of the funeral sermon that appeared in print in England as *A sermon preached at Constantinople* (1616).[33] Grimeston's use of news pamphlets, and the similarity of several of the other anecdotes he reports to material elsewhere extant in pamphlet form, show that even following the conclusion of the Long War of 1593–1606 (see Chapter 2), there was a ready market for news from the Ottoman Empire.

The major contrast between Knolles and Grimeston lies in the latter's use of material drawn directly from Anglo–Ottoman diplomacy. Most obviously this included material provided by the former ambassador Thomas Glover, the son of an English merchant and a Polish mother, born and raised in Constantinople and fluent in Turkish, Greek, Italian, and Polish. Grimeston reports the embassy of 'Husseine Chiaus' to James I, complete with this envoy's speech in both Turkish and English, recorded and translated by Glover, and also includes letters from Sultan Osman to James I, and the King of France, and a letter from Grand Vizier 'Hallil Bassa' to ambassador Sir Paul Pindar (served 1611–1620).[34] The account of a man such as Glover, who was raised in Constantinople, and had extensive experience of Anglo–Ottoman diplomacy, has no counterpart in Knolles's writing. Furthermore, Grimeston cites numerous verbal sources such as 'a Dragoman to the English Embassador'[35] and 'the English Embassadors chaplein',[36] which can only have come to him from someone connected to Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy (probably through Glover). Despite his use of this category of sources Grimeston laments that he 'should have beene glad that some which have resided at Constantinople most part of this time, would have assisted me with their observations'.[37]

As English sources found their way into the later editions of the *Generall Historie*, the focus of the continuations shifted from Knolles's concern with describing the context for the contemporary Ottoman advance into Europe to the incidents and progress of diplomacy and trade. Reporting the grant of trade capitulations to the Dutch, Grimeston

takes a pragmatic stance on the issue of trading with the Turks, similar to that earlier espoused by Hakluyt.

> This alliance with the Turke, for the which they have so often, and with little reason blamed the French, hath beene affected and sought by the English and Spaniards, as we have said elsewhere; and now by the Hollanders, whose Estates proceed in all their affaires with such weight and measure, as it seemes they doe nothing but with great reason, and to good purpose...[38]

However, Grimeston's concern with and acceptance of the trade does not have the effect of softening his general attitude to the Turks, which was, if anything, harsher than Knolles's:

> they write of them that they are grosse witted, idle, and unfit for labour. They are exceeding covetous and corrupt … proud and insupportable to strangers … given to gluttonie and drunkennesse … much inclined to venerie, and are for the most part all Sodomites. They are very superstitious, giving credit to dreames and divinations; and they hold that every mans destinie is written in his forehead, which cannot be altered or avoided.[39]

Notably Grimeston's roll call of pejorative commonplaces is based on hearsay ('they write of them…'), rather than attributed to a first-hand source. However, it is also illustrative that his deeply negative perceptions of the Turks, sat comfortably with his generally pragmatic and positive account of the Levant trade and Anglo–Ottoman diplomacy.

The 1631 fourth edition contained a continuation by 'M.B.', which was influenced by the Levant trade to an even greater degree as it was primarily drawn from the papers of the English ambassador to Constantinople, Sir Thomas Roe (served 1621–1629). Knolles's continental sources were replaced by English diplomatic papers and for the first time episodes in Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy became the focus for the narrative of the *Generall Historie*. In particular the issue of piracy, a key concern of early seventeenth-century Anglo–Ottoman diplomacy, took centre stage. The problem of Barbary piracy was not new, however, it had been aggravated dramatically by the rapid growth of the Levant trade, and indeed Mediterranean shipping generally, which had virtually doubled between 1582 and 1629.[40] In response to this problem, James I (r. 1603–1625) and later Charles I (r. 1625–1649)

pursued a largely ineffectual diplomatic strategy, aimed at the Ottoman sultans, the king of Morocco, and other individual Barbary states. However, this floundered as the sultan lacked the control necessary to effectively curb piracy in the North African regencies nominally under his control.[41]

As noted, the anonymous continuer 'M.B.' wrote out of Roe's papers, indeed Roe himself later 're-viewed and corrected' this section for the 1638 fifth edition (which does not credit 'M.B.'). The close relationship between the continuation and Roe's papers is clear in section on the regicide of Sultan Osman II, which is virtually a verbatim copy of Roe's pamphlet *A true and faithfull relation, presented to his Majestie and the prince, of what hath lately happened in Constantinople* (1622).[42] The continuation begins with background on the Ottoman conflict in Poland as a context for Roe's arrival in Constantinople as the new English ambassador, and includes Roe's letter of Credence, the Articles he negotiated and a letter of Osman II to James I. These documents focus upon the trade, and specifically the need to renew capitulations, to prevent the alleged extortion of English merchants by Ottoman officials, and, above all, to tackle the issue of piracy. The articles request that Osman

> take some order with the Pyrats of Tunis and Algier, who shelter themselves under your Royall protection (to the great dishonour of your Majestie) and doe many robberies upon the subjects of Kings and Princes in amity and league with your empire …

Indeed they went so far as to threaten that if the sultan could not restrain these pirates then

> his Majestie, with other Princes his Allies, shall make an Armie to punish both them and all others that receive and cherish them; which hath hitherto been forborne in respect onely of your Majestie: and that the towns where they harbour themselves are or ought to be under your Imperiall command.[43]

Despite these empty threats, the prohibitive cost and difficulty of naval action, requiring large fleets on extended campaigns, forced the English to pursue a diplomatic strategy of negotiating protection from the sultan. These negotiations are described through a long and tedious series of letters amounting to a full twenty pages, and transcripts of twenty-eight documents and letters, recounting an English petition, a counter petition by the Algerians, and a compromise mediated by the sultan.[44]

These negotiations achieved the major English diplomatic objectives: a command to cease attacks on shipping, the freeing of Englishmen held as slaves in Tunis and Algiers, and the establishment of a consul to mediate future difficulties. However, the achievements of diplomacy in this area proved to be transitory and 'M.B.' notes that:

> This Peace thus concluded … was well and exactly observed for five yeres … untill a small offence was done to them, which they easily apprehended, to renew their desire of spoyle…[45]

While negotiations with the sultan might achieve their objective, reaching a settlement that held in practice and over time remained elusive. However, though diplomatic solutions to piracy proved difficult to enforce the English remained attached to this strategy and in 1625 Charles I continued this policy, sending a letter to the Moroccan ruler 'Mulay Zaidan' to treat for the release of captives and an end to attacks on English shipping.[46]

The concern with piracy persists into the fifth edition of 1638, and the continuation of that edition, by the dramatist Thomas Nabbes. This section is similar to that of 'M.B.' in that it is largely drawn out of the papers of an ambassador, in this case Sir Peter Wyche (served 1627–1639), including the transcripts of six letters between Charles I and Murad IV regarding the renewals of capitulations. In focusing on the issues of trade and piracy, 'M.B.', and later Nabbes, were responding to an issue whose momentum was reaching crisis proportions by the end of the 1630s.[47] The government responded with an attack on the port of Salee (in modern day Morocco) in 1637, fought in conjunction with local elements, followed by a peace and the visit of the Moroccan ambassador Alkaid Jaurar Ben Abdalla. However, this campaign did not resolve the issue regarding Tunis, Tripoli, or Algiers, and a commons committee was formed that laid out proposals for a similar military expedition. The problem was that the only effective strategy was a combination of convoys, hunting down corsairs, and the lengthy blockading of corsair ports. All of these required a large number of ships to remain in active long-distance operations for a period of several years, which only became practical with the increase in naval power, which came about during the Civil War and its aftermath.[48] Barbary piracy remained a key issue in English Levantine trade and diplomacy throughout the seventeenth century, and this is reflected beyond the continuations of the *Generall Historie* into the writing of Paul Rycaut, who as secretary to the ambassador and later consul at Smyrna (Izmir),

was himself involved in both trade and diplomacy, and personally undertook diplomatic missions to Algiers.

As we have seen, as the seventeenth century progressed the later editions of the *Generall Historie* came to be increasingly shaped by documentary material and first-hand accounts generated by Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy. This trend is of particular significance as this very work was the most authoritative English book written on the topic of the Turks in the early modern period. As this material was assimilated into subsequent editions of Knolles's work the key concerns of trade and diplomacy, notably Barbary piracy, came to be a central topic. Indeed it is particularly striking that later editions of the *Generall Historie* were dominated to such an extent by the issues of Anglo–Ottoman economic and diplomatic interaction when we consider that Knolles's original edition of 1603 was such a deeply conservative and Christendom centred work. Nonetheless, the writing of the continuers also strongly reflected both contemporary commonplace views of the Turks, and the forms and conventions of existing historical discourse (of which Knolles was of course a prominent example). Grimeston, 'M.B.', and Nabbes were minor scholars who drew upon or edited documents from Levantine diplomacy to inform their historical writing. In contrast the final figure we will examine in this chapter, Paul Rycaut, the most eminent English author on the Turks in the later seventeenth century, was heavily involved in both the Levant trade and diplomacy. However, as we shall see he was also the unwilling inheritor of an established written discourse of Turkish history, whose focal point was Knolles, and which shaped the form and content of his works.

Paul Rycaut

Paul Rycaut was a career diplomat who was intimately involved in the operation of Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy. In the years 1661–1667 he served as private secretary to the ambassador at Constantinople Sir Heneage Finch, third earl of Winchelsea (whose embassy lasted 1660–1669), and chancellor of the factory at Constantinople. He later served as consul at Smyrna (modern day Izmir, 1667–1678), following which he returned to England but continued to act in an assistant role for the Levant Company and as a consultant to the Government on Ottoman matters.[49] He was knighted in 1685 and made chief secretary in Ireland, responsible for Leinster and Connaught, under Clarendon's administration, though recalled with the collapse of the latter in in 1687. His final diplomatic appointment

was as a resident at the Hanse towns of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen (1689–1700), returning to London shortly before his death in 1700. Amongst his prodigious literary output Rycaut was best known for several works on the topic of the Ottoman Empire including *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1666); *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (1679); *The History of the Turkish Empire from the year 1623 to 1677* (1680, in later editions titled *The History of the Turks*); and *The History of the Turks beginning with the year 1679* (1700). He was unquestionably the foremost English authority on the Turks to emerge in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Rycaut's key work, the *Present State*, was printed for the publishers John Starkey and Henry Brome in 1666, with a title page post-dated 1667, and illustrated with numerous engravings showing Turkish figures and costumes. According to the diary of Samuel Pepys this edition was almost entirely destroyed in the Great Fire of London in September 1666.[50] Nonetheless, its importance was soon widely recognised and Rycaut was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society in December 1667. The *Present State* subsequently went through numerous English editions and printings, and in stark contrast to Knolles's earlier *Generall Historie*, was widely translated, read, and printed across Europe. First translated into French in 1670 by Pierre Briot, a second French translation followed in 1677 by the Sieur Bespier (supplemented with extensive notes), following which this work was also translated into Italian, German, Dutch, Polish, and even Russian.[51] It was highly unusual for an English book to be so widely translated in this period, and it is notable that the Italian and Polish translations were both taken from the French of Briot, while the later Russian edition was translated from Polish. In other words, its translation into French facilitated its dissemination in other vernaculars. However, the success of the *Present State* was ultimately down to the detail with which Rycaut sought to describe the contemporary Ottoman state, and the closeness of the Anglo–Ottoman diplomatic relationship at this time, which allowed him to become well informed. As a result, the *Present State* was widely read and became highly influential, having a profound influence on luminaries such as Montesquieu, Adam Smith, Racine, Leibniz, Temple, Locke, Montesquieu, Cantemir, Byron, and Louis XIV's Prime Minister Bourbon, as well as very numerous less prominent authors.[52]

Rycaut's *Present State* was radical departure from previous English writing on the Turks. It offered a comprehensive overview of the Ottoman state, based upon Rycaut's own experiences and informants in the Ottoman Empire. Further, it followed the example of works composed

by continental diplomats, rather than the established continental discourse of Turkish history, or the version of that tradition presented by Knolles and his continuers. One of the most interesting facets of Rycaut's works is that by attempting to establish his own authority by setting himself apart from contemporary writing on the Turks, Rycaut provides a self-conscious assessment and critique of the mid-century state of that discourse. Despite Rycaut's attempts to set himself apart from his contemporaries in this way, both the *Present State* and his later writings on the Turks – which made similar claims for their authority based on his experience of the Ottoman Empire – were also a product of English contexts in which they were written, and established English writing on Turkish history. This latter point is especially true of his two last historical works on the Ottoman Empire which essentially took the form of continuations of Knolles's *Generall Historie*, though as we shall see this was at the publisher's insistence, and much to Rycaut's personal chagrin. Although his engagement in the Levant trade and diplomacy are an obvious context for Rycaut's writing on the Turks, its content and form (particularly in later works) was also shaped in subtler, but still profound ways, by the example of existing writing. We shall focus upon the *Present State* as it was Rycaut's most well read, influential, and original work, and show how although the Levant trade informed his account, it was also written within an established English discourse, and shaped by the professional, religious, and political contexts in which Rycaut operated.

The Rycaut family had connections to Mediterranean trade and strong Royalist credentials. Born in 1629, Paul Rycaut was the eleventh child of Peter Rycaut, a Dutch Huguenot merchant who had emigrated from Antwerp to London around 1600. Peter Rycaut had been heavily involved in the western Mediterranean trade and acquired a large fortune, a mansion in Kent, and a knighthood.[53] During the Civil War Sir Peter lent money and raised troops for the Royalist cause and by 1643 he had fled to Rouen. Following this his estates were sequestered, and he was barred from holding office in the Newcastle propositions of 1646. He died in 1653 and what remained of his great wealth, primarily assets held on the continent, was not enough to prevent the sale of the family's Kentish mansion in 1657.[54] Paul Rycaut was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge but also studied at Alcalá de Henares near Madrid, having travelled to Spain with his brother, seeking to redeem debts owed to his father. In the later years of the Commonwealth he travelled in Italy, and while at Livorno he joined Blake's expedition against the pirates of Tunis in 1655 (Rycaut's involvement was occasioned by the piratical seizure of a shipload of currants belonging to

his brother, Philip).[55] As a consequence, Rycaut was present at Porto Farina when Blake fired the Tunisian fleet in its winter harbour. Rycaut was later involved in negotiations with Algiers and his experiences with Blake probably influenced his later advocacy of punitive action against that port. Rycaut also spent time at the exiled court of Charles II in Brussels. Following the Restoration he was appointed private secretary to Sir Heneage Finch, the earl of Winchelsea and newly appointed ambassador to Constantinople. This appointment was made at the recommendation of Sir Edward Dering, a Kentish connection of the family, and no doubt strengthened by Rycaut's solidly Royalist family credentials, involvement in Royalist intrigue throughout the late interregnum, and experience in the Mediterranean and North Africa.[56]

Following this appointment, Rycaut's early career advanced through a combination of ability and luck, giving him direct experience of Levant diplomacy at the highest level. *En route* to the Levant the principal secretary and newly appointed chancellor of the Constantinople factory, Robert Bargrave, fell ill and died, and so from the time of his arrival Rycaut served in these roles and was soon officially appointed chancellor. He proved himself an able diplomat, with command of nine languages (English, French, Spanish, Italian, Latin, ancient and modern Greek, Turkish, and some German), and he was dispatched on several independent missions. These included the ratifications of treaties with the corsair ports of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers in 1663 (when Algiers refused, he returned to London and presented the case for naval reprisals), and a mission in 1665 to refer a customs dispute at the Aleppo factory to grand vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, at that time encamped at Belgrade.

Writing the Levant trade

Rycaut's first publications, *A narrative of the success of the voyage* (1661) and *The Capitulations and Articles of Peace* (1663), described Finch's travel to Constantinople and his successful renewal and renegotiation of the articles on which Anglo–Ottoman trade depended. Rycaut originally dedicated *The Capitulations* to the Levant Company. However, Anderson notes that when he arrived in London later that year he had a dedication to the king printed for copies intended for the government, and a later edition in 1663 also sought to curry royal favour with a dedication to the king. This rededication may indeed simply have been politic, but as we shall see, throughout his career Rycaut sought to use his literary talents to gain preferment, with varied degrees of success. The company was clearly well pleased, and in 1679 they requested that Rycaut, by

then returned to England, publish the capitulations and articles since negotiated by Heneage Finch's ambassadorial successor (and cousin) John Finch (served 1672–1681).

Rycaut's first major work, *The Present State*, was dedicated to the Secretary of State Henry Bennent, Lord Arlington (d. 1685). This work sought to give a comprehensive and systematic account of the Ottoman state, its organisation, military, laws, and religion, rather than its history *per se*.[57] It was printed by the booksellers John Starkey and Henry Brome. Starkey had an established interest in political and constitutional literature and later became a radical Whig. In contrast Brome was notably active in printing in the crown's interest, publishing the Royalist propagandist in chief Roger L'Estrange from the eve of the Restoration in 1659–1660 to his later journal the *Observator* (up to 1681). Rycaut, who by 1666 was seeking a new appointment, sought to use the publication of the *Present State* to showcase his own abilities and suitability as a diplomat. A major theme in the work was the importance of the Levant trade and Company to English national interests, which in addition to promoting his then employers, of course, also emphasised the public benefits accrued by Rycaut's service.

Rycaut attempted to fashion his own authority as an expert on the Ottomans by setting his work apart from the existing discourse of English writing on the Turks. He presented himself as a professional observer whose own experiences of the Ottoman court were to be valued beyond the observations of travellers and armchair scholars.

> I Present thee here with a true Systeme or Model of the Turkish Government and Religion; not in the same manner as certain ingenious Travellers have done, who have set down their Observations as they have obviously occurred in their Journeys; which being collected for the most part from Relations, and Discourses of such who casually intervene in company of Passengers, are consequently subject to many errours and mistakes: But having been an Inhabitant my self at the Imperial City for the space of five years, and assisted by the advantage of considerable Journeys I have made through divers parts of *Turky*, and qualified by the Office I hold of Secretary to the Earl of *Winchilsea* Lord Embassador, I had opportunity by the constant access and practice with the Chief Ministers of State, and variety of Negotiations which passed through my hands in the Turkish Court, to penetrate farther into the Mysteries of this Politie, which appear so strange and barbarous to us, than hasty Travellers could do, who are forced to content themselves with a superficial knowledge.[58]

The inception of the Levant trade and the increasing English presence in the eastern Levant had led to a proliferation in the publication of erudite travel accounts by gentlemen travellers such as William Biddulph (1609), Thomas Coryat (1611), George Sandys (1615), Fynes Moryson (1617), William Lithgow (1623), and Henry Blount (1636). Many of these accounts mentioned the trade, and with good reason, as they often used established trade routes, and availed themselves of diplomatic residences as stopping points and for orientation. By setting himself apart so strongly from the 'obvious', 'casual', 'hasty', and 'superficial' accounts of 'ingenious Travellers' (such as that 'ingenious traveller',[59] George Sandys) Rycaut ironically confirms for the modern-day historian how important a part of contemporary English printed discourse on the Turks these kind of accounts had become.[60] As we shall see later, in his more explicitly historical works, Rycaut adopts a similar stance towards historical writing on the Turks, notably Knolles and his continuers. Rycaut insists that it is no longer enough to present an account based on continental chronicles, or even first-hand description, instead his own systematic 'Model' of the 'Maxims' of the Ottoman polity offers the inside track, based on long residence, an official position, and informants able to expound the 'Mysteries' of its State.

The three books of the *Present State* set themselves the task of methodically describing the Ottoman state and law, religion, and the military system. This approach, complete with detailed computations of Ottoman military power and descriptions of courtly life, is modelled upon contemporary European diplomatic accounts. Rycaut emphasises both his own experience of the Ottoman state and his access to well-placed Ottoman informants:

> The Computations I have made of the value of their Offices, of the strength and number of their Souldiery … are deduced from their own Registers and Records. The Observations I have made of their Politie, are either Maxims received from the Mouth and Argument of considerable Ministers, or Conclusions arising from my own Experience and Considerations. The Articles of their Faith and Constitutions of Religion, I have set down as pronounced from the mouth of some of the most learned Doctors and Preachers of their Law …. The Relation of the *Seraglio*, and Education of their Youth, with divers other matters of Custom and Rule, were transmitted to me by several sober Persons, trained up with the best Education of the Turkish Learning; and particularly, by an understanding *Polonian*, who had spent nineteen years in the *Ottoman* Court.[61]

Anderson identifies this 'understanding Polonian' as Albert Bobowski, otherwise known as Ali Bey or Ali Ufki, a translator, musician, and convert to Islam working in the Ottoman court.[62] Earlier accounts, had been based upon continental literature, or, made great show of being first-hand observations. However, Rycaut claims not merely to provide a first-hand account but an officially sanctioned, in-depth narrative, based on information taken directly from those involved with the Ottoman state. Notably, alongside these assertions Rycaut is still keen to demonstrate the breadth of his learning and erudition, and he quotes widely from the Bible, the Koran, Busbeqc, Pococke, Justinian, Cicero, Ovid, Bacon, Machiavelli, Livy, Plutarch, Virgil, Juvenal, Seneca, Curtius, Grotius, Aristotle, and Richelieu, but above all Tacitus.[63]

For Rycaut, as with Hakluyt, the Ottoman Empire is a worthy subject primarily because of the English Levant trade, and in keeping with his involvement with this trade he is always keen to emphasise its benefits:

> [T]he excellent Conduct and Direction of that Right Worshipful Company of the *Levant* Merchants, hath brought a most considerable benefit to this Kingdom, and gives employment and livelihood to many thousands of people in *England*, by which also His Majesty without any expence, gains a very considerable increase of His Customs.[64]

Rycaut contrasts his pragmatic emphasis on the utility and national public benefit of the trade to the crusading, or at least militantly anti-Turkish bent of much contemporary writing:

> [As] some study several ways, and prescribe Rules by which a War may be most advantagiously managed against the Turk; I, on the contrary, am more inclinable to give my judgment in what manner our Peace and Trade may best be secured and maintained; knowing that so considerable a welfare of our Nation depends upon it…[65]

Ottoman military strength and the viability of crusade were significant themes in much contemporary writing, not least that generated by various continental diplomatic relationships with the Ottomans.[66] A notable example, and one to which Rycaut refers to with approval, was the widely read and highly influential *Legationis Turciciae epistolae quatuor* (1595) of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, imperial ambassador to the Ottomans (1554–1562, appointed by Ferdinand I).[67] These letters were one of the most balanced descriptions of the Ottomans produced

in sixteenth-century Europe. However, the *Exclamatio sive de re militari contra Turcam instituenda consilium*, which concluded this work, was essentially a call for a unified crusade against the Turks. While Rycaut explicitly contrasted his own call for amicable trade with the Turks to crusade writing of this kind, it is also notable that his own attempts to enumerate the organisation, manpower, and strength of the Ottoman military fall identifiably into the same category of writing.

Rycaut's appeal for the careful maintenance of trade and diplomacy with the Ottomans led him to humanise the Turks and soften many of the most pejorative commonplace characteristics that were then attributed to them in contemporary English writing and culture. Punning on his own title (i.e. *The Present State*, but also his offering to Arlington) Rycaut questions 'that notion of Barbarity with which this Empire is stiled':

> This Present … may be termed barbarous, as all things are, which are differenced from us by diversity of Manners and Custom, and are not dressed in the mode and fashion of our times and Countries; for we contract prejudice from ignorance and want of familiarity … your Lordship will conclude, that a People, as the Turks are, men of the same composition with us, cannot be so savage and rude as they are generally described; for ignorance and grossness is the effect of Poverty, not incident to happy men, whose spirits are elevated with Spoils and Trophies of so many Nations.[68]

In this passage Rycaut's rhetoric cleverly inverts the standard depictions of the 'grossness', barbarism, rudeness, and incivility of the 'Turk' to reveal English 'ignorance' and 'prejudice' concerning the Ottomans. Rycaut's insistence that the Turks are 'men of the same composition with us' humanises them. Furthermore the wealth and power of their empire makes a mockery of the idea that they are 'savage and rude'. However, though Rycaut is keen to emphasise both the opulence and might of the Ottomans and the sophistication of their empire, his account of the Turks is also heavily shaped by both contemporary commonplaces and literature. This is particularly true in regard to character and sexual morality, and he rails against 'the deformity, of their depraved inclinations',[69] and elsewhere more specifically against 'that abominable vice of Sodomie, which the Turks pretend to have learned from the Italians, and is now the common and professed shame of that people'.[70] Thus, it is not surprising that while Rycaut builds the authority of his account on his own well-placed, and lengthy, personal encounter with the Ottoman world and its inhabitants, he also seeks to

distance himself from the foreignness and vice that the Turks so often represented in contemporary English culture. So, while he emphasises his Ottoman sources, he also insists that he merely 'gained a familiarity and appearance of friendship', with them, rather than truly befriending them. Rycaut's pragmatic endorsement of the Levant trade, the diplomacy it required, and his lengthy sojourn in the Levant, certainly softened his depictions of the Turks in comparison to many contemporaries. However, his hard-headed arguments for the benefits of trade ran parallel to a deeply rooted, and overwhelmingly pejorative tradition through which the Turks were 'generally described' in contemporary culture, and which Rycaut himself by no means entirely rejected.

Rycaut's analysis of the Ottoman state was also informed by the paradigms of contemporary discourse on the Turks. Fundamentally, he considered that the Ottoman Empire was by nature a tyranny:

> Nay, if a man considers the contexture of the whole *Turkish* Government, he will find it such a Fabrick of slavery, that it is a wonder if any amongst them should be born of a free ingenuous spirit. The Grand Signior is born of a slave, the Mother of the present being a *Circhasian* …The Visiers themselves are not always free born by Father or Mother; for the *Turks* get more children by their slaves then by their wives … [and] it is hard to find many that can derive a clear line from ingenious Parents: So that it is no wonder that amongst the *Turks* a disposition be found fitted and disposed for servitude…[71]

As a consequence of passages like this, and his established influence on Montesquieu, Rycaut has often been castigated by critics as one of the fathers of 'Oriental Despotism'.[72] How far one is willing to give credence to this suggestion essentially depends on what one considers to be the fundamental features of that concept. It is certainly true that Rycaut is writing in a political tradition, ultimately deriving from Aristotle, which sought to describe tyranny as a systematic form of government (as opposed to circumstantial or opportunistic tyranny such as that of a conqueror). Further, this tradition, again going back to Aristotle, especially identified such systematic tyranny/despotism with Asiatic government. Rycaut includes a number of assertions that were commonplace in this form of writing, namely that the Turks were naturally servile, and that their supposed lack of private property reinforced their lack of political freedom.

Joan-Pau Rubiés has shown that this discourse of political description was used by a number of scholarly travel writers, including Rycaut, as a

hermeneutic tool to analyse and describe eastern monarchies, including the Ottoman Empire.[73] However, it would be a mistake to elide the distance between Rycaut and later writers such as Montesquieu whose theory of Oriental Despotism is far more formalised, abstract, and conceptualised on this basis. Notably, Rycaut uses the term tyranny not despotism; his systematic description of the Turks does not attempt a generalised account of 'the orient'; and he does not propound generalised climactic explanations for the tyranny and servility of the Turks (though this cause might be read as hinted at by his language).[74] Rather, for Rycaut the character of the Turks is primarily a function of their fundamentally corrupt form of government. Nonetheless, though Rycaut is writing in the late-seventeenth rather than the early-eighteenth century, it should be emphasised that his description of the Ottomans was of course heavily drawn on by later theorists, including Montesquieu himself.

Rycaut's seventeenth-century context is evident in the language through which he explores the legitimacy, or indeed illegitimacy, of the Ottoman state: a vocabulary that is deeply rooted in the political, religious, and social contexts of Restoration England. The overriding preoccupation with political legitimacy and the acceptable limits of monarchical authority are both symptomatic of his time and inform his conception of the Ottoman state. To understand the role that the Restoration played in shaping these views it is necessary to return briefly to Rycaut's background. As noted, his father Peter was a Royalist supporter and a wealthy merchant who had lost most of his fortune in the Civil War and during the interregnum. Furthermore, Heneage Finch, the earl of Winchelsea, whom Rycaut served as private secretary, had formerly been a leader of the Royalist underground in Kent. As Goffman has shown, the relationship between the Levant Company and monarch, fractious at the best of times, had deteriorated during the Civil War and interregnum into intrigue and hostility. Both Charles I and his son in exile had made attempts to seize the assets of the Levant Company through their respective agents, ambassador Sackville Crow and Henry Hyde, attempts that were successfully resisted by the Company.[75] The appointment of Finch, who was very much the king's man, as ambassador in 1660, was an attempt to rein in a wayward, rebellious, and suspect Levant Company. Fincha's targets encompassed religious dissent as well as possible resistance to royal authority. Steve Pincus has described an 'Anglican crusade' led by Finch against influential nonconformists in the Levant Company, and described his embassy as focused on religion, loyalty to the monarch, and relations with the Ottoman government.[76] Rycaut's very presence in the Levant, as Finch's secretary, was therefore

closely connected with the reassertion of monarchical authority and Anglicanism following the Restoration. With this in mind it makes sense that Rycaut's views on the character of sultanic rule are shaped not only by contemporary ideas about sovereignty and 'absolute' government but also the context of Restoration Anglican royalist ideology.

Tim Harris has written convincingly on the 'legalist-constitutionalist' aspects of post-Restoration Tory ideology. He argues that 'most Anglicans and Cavaliers concurred in seeing the Restoration as marking a return to the rule of law and constitutional propriety after the illegal activities of the Civil War and interregnum'.[77] The right of kings to rule was sacrosanct, and yet also embodied a return to law and civility following the arbitrary and illegal rule of the Protectorate and Commonwealth. Those who argued for the divine right of kings were quick to deny that they therefore supported arbitrary government, of which the Ottomans were a commonly cited example. To the contrary, the just king ruling by divine right and in accord with the laws of both God and England was portrayed as the best defence against tyranny and anarchy, such as had held sway in the interregnum, under the Commonwealth. Rycaut falls solidly within this tradition, not particularly surprisingly, as Harris places the Earl of Winchelsea's family the Finches amongst the most important figures who urged the king to remain within the law at all times.[78] The language through which Rycaut conceives of the Ottoman state, and indeed political legitimacy and the proper limits upon the authority and actions of a monarch more generally, are deeply informed by this context.

> I confess it is a blessing … to be Subjects of a gracious Prince, who hath prescribed his power within the compass of wholesom Laws, acknowledg'd a right of possession and propriety of Estate as well in his Subjects as himself, who doth not punish the innocent with the guilty, nor oppress without distinction…[79]

Nowhere are these concerns more apparent than in Rycaut's 'epistle to the reader', which ends with the injunction:

> If (Reader) the superstition, vanity, and ill foundation of the Mahometan Religion seem fabulous, as a Dream, or the fancies of a distracted and wild Brain, thank God that thou wert born a Christian, and within the Pale of an Holy and an Orthodox Church. If the Tyranny, Oppression, and Cruelty of that State, wherein Reason stands in no competition with the pride and lust of an

> unreasonable Minister, seem strange to thy Liberty and Happiness, thank God that thou art born in a Country the most free and just in all the World; and a Subject to the most indulgent, the most gracious of all the Princes of the Universe; That thy Wife, thy Children, and the fruits of thy labour can be called thine own, and protected by the valiant Arm of thy fortunate King: And thus learn to know and prize thy own Freedom, by comparison with Forreign Servitude, that thou mayst ever bless God and thy King, and make thy Happiness breed thy Content, without degenerating into wantonness, or desire of revolution.[80]

What is most striking about the above passage is that in describing the 'absolute' power of Ottoman 'tyranny', it also defines an English model of monarchy embodying the law and guaranteeing the 'freedom' of its subjects. Rycaut is certainly writing within a wider mode or discourse that described the Ottoman state as a tyrannical or despotic government in which personal freedom and property of the servile population was hostage to the 'Cruelty', 'pride and lust' of the sultan, or an 'unreasonable minister'. However, it is clear that this passage also profoundly reflects the Restoration. The references to an Englishman's freedom to enjoy 'the fruits of thy labour' in a 'free and just' England suggest constraints upon the monarch with regard to property and the rule of law. The contrast of English freedom with 'Turkish' servitude also serves as a telling reminder that the king's rule must respect the constraint of law to be legitimate. The shadow of the Civil War is most tangibly present in his final warning against 'wantonness and revolution', which implicitly compares Ottoman 'tyranny' to the 'tyranny' of the interregnum, a recurrent theme throughout the *Present State*.

Rycaut's views on religion are also rooted in his Restoration context. He states: 'thank God that thou wert born a Christian, and within the Pale of an Holy and an Orthodox Church'. Note that simply being a Christian is no longer enough; now one must be an Anglican. Neither is this religious identity defined against a Catholic menace, foreign or internal. Rather, the targets of Rycaut's indignation are what he later terms 'puritans' and 'fanatiks', that is, the nonconformists on whom Rycaut laid the blame for the Civil War, and this is a further repeating theme in the *Present State*. While this sense of opposition certainly draws on an older contrast between Christians and Turks, the relatively simple commitment to the concept of 'Christendom' of authors such as Knolles, Carr, Jones, or Hartwell has retreated into the shadows of sectarian uncertainty.

In sum the *Present State* was informed by Rycaut's experience as a serving diplomat resident in Constantinople, and this certainly tempered his attitudes towards the Turks with a pragmatic appreciation of the value of trade and amity. However, the views of the Ottoman Empire and its people that he espoused were still influenced by both deeply rooted commonplaces, and the assumptions and structures of contemporary discourse on that state and its history. Furthermore, Rycaut, as a man of the Restoration, conceived of the Ottoman state in relation to the English contexts that he had lived through, and as such the religious and political reference points of the 1660s are evident in his account. While the *Present State* was one of the best informed and most systematic early modern English accounts of the Ottoman Empire, it was still very much a part of the established English, and European, discourse of writing about the Turks, their state, and their history.

Paul Rycaut: Later career and works

In September 1667 Rycaut was appointed Consul at Smyrna, a post he held for eleven years until April 1678. How far this appointment was influenced by Rycaut's success as an author is impossible to tell. However, what is certain is that when Rycaut next sought advancement in public life, following his long consulship, he began once more to seek court patronage through the publication and dedication of two major works on the Levant. *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (1679) is dedicated to the king. Rycaut reminds the king of his 'Attendance on Your Majesties Affairs in Turky', his royalist credentials and family background as the 'Son of that Father, who, by his Services and Sufferings, hath set a fair Example to his Posterity, of Loyalty and Obedience to Your Majesty', and ends with a heavy hint regarding his desire for a further public position: '[I] delight my self in nothing so much, as when I am performing my Duty and Services towards God and Your Majesty'.[81] He likewise dedicated *The History of the Turkish Empire from the year 1622 to 1677* (1680) to Charles II, and plays up the 'Publick Trust and Interest which was committed to my Management' (i.e. the consulship), his own 'prudence, faithfulness, and industry' and 'the Character noted on my Family of being Loyal'.[82] The dedications of both of these works should be read within the context of Rycaut's strategy of resigning his consulship in the hope of attracting an embassy post.[83]

Responding to the demands of his printer Starkey, and the book market, Rycaut's *History* (1680) was heavily modelled on the form

and content of the various editions of Knolles's *Generall Historie*, with chapters based on the lives of sultans, preceded by engravings, progressing chronologically year by year, and so on.[84] Specifically, Starkey requested that Rycaut add a section covering the years 1623 to 1640, picking up where Grimeston's continuation of Knolles left off (i.e. 1622), and replacing the somewhat slapdash continuations of 'M.B.' and Nabbes, which, though based upon the papers of diplomats, were poorly written. The second half of *History* (i.e. that following the section requested by Starkey) is separately titled 'The Memoirs of Sir Paul Rycaut' and is, presumably, more similar to Rycaut's original manuscript. This latter section focuses on 'the most remarkable passages relating to the English trade in the space of eighteen years' alongside the history of the Turks. The key point here is that Rycaut's attempts to write an account of the Ottoman state based on his own experience of trade and diplomacy and informants were somewhat uncomfortably forced into the rubric of earlier historical writing on the Turks. As the section Starkey requested included a time period outside Rycaut's residence in the Ottoman empire he was compelled to rely on secondary sources such as the Venetian Sagredo. In contrast, Rycaut's original intentions to write a work based on his own experience were spelled out in the second introduction that prefaced his 'Memoirs' (i.e. the second half of *History*):

> I was carried with a certain emulation of French and Italian Writers, of whose Ministers few there were employed in the parts of *Turky*, but who carried with them from thence, Memoirs, Giornals, or Historical Observations of their times. In which our Nation hath been so defective, that besides some scattered and abrupt Papers, without coherence, or method, adjoined to the end of *Knoll's* History of the Turks (which is an excellent collection from divers Authours) one shall scarce find five sheets of Paper wrote by our Countrymen in way of History.[85]

Writing after seventeen years in Turkey Rycaut is at pains to place himself apart from the existing body of English writing on the Turks, of which he is dismissive. He is especially critical of the 'scattered and abrupt papers' of the 'M.B.', Nabbes, and the other continuations, and seems to damn Knolles's 'collection from divers Authours' with faint praise, though it is worth noting that these are exactly the authors whose market the publisher Starkey was attempting to exploit. Rycaut instead models himself on continental Italian and French examples.

These were presumably the famous Venetian *relazione*, written by ambassadors and circulated widely in Europe, and the numerous French Orientalists who had accompanied embassies, figures like Guillaume Postel, Nicolas Nicolay, and André Thévet.[86] Though Rycaut's original manuscript was probably a good deal closer to such continental accounts, and based on his own experiences and informants, Starkey's insistence that the work be extended to bring it into line with the later editions of the *Generall Historie* shaped the final work into something much closer to the Knolles's, which must have been a source of frustration to Rycaut.[87] Rycaut's 'Memoirs' even in some ways seem like the natural fulfilment of the increasing interest in the trade evident in the later continuations of Knolles's history; while 'M.B.' and Nabbes had been informed by documents produced by the trade, and took on some of its concerns, for Rycaut the trade has become the topic *in itself*.

Unfortunately for Rycaut the gamble he took in resigning his consulship in 1678 in the hope of an embassy post did not pay off and when such a post became available in 1680 he was overlooked. Following this failure he sought to capitalise on his reputation as a learned and significant literary figure by publishing a number of sizeable translations.[88] As noted earlier he also spent a brief time in Ireland serving in the Clarendon administration, before finally, through the patronage of George Savile, first marquis of Halifax, securing an appointment as diplomatic resident at the Hanse towns of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen. While in Ireland he was approached to edit the sixth edition of Knolles's history, which was printed for Robert Clavell, Jonathan Robinson, Awnsham Churchill, and Thomas Basset in partnership, and paid for by subscription. Rycaut had previously been led to believe that his own *History of the Turkish Empire* (1680) would be republished in a new edition on its own, and was dismayed to discover that it would instead be trimmed and incorporated into the forthcoming edition of Knolles' History. He wrote to his publisher Clavell:

> though I thus condescend to loose £15 of my former demands, yet it is still wth intention, and designe to Continue my intrest in y^{e} booke upon another impression, w^{ch} I hope to Live to see, and the tyme when I shall have Leisure to deduce the historye unto these tymes by my owne penn, and untill then I Canot but with some regrett thinke it a great disparagement to that worke, to see it Crouded into 50 sheetes, and to become an appendix to an old Obsolete author [i.e. Knolles].[89]

Rycaut grudgingly allowed the use of new passages he had written for incorporation into the years 1623–1677 but withheld his continuation of his own work for the years 1678–1686, forcing the publisher to commission a new continuation from Roger Manley. This kind of wrangling is an indication of the hold that Knolles continued to exert over English writing on the Ottomans well into the late-seventeenth century. In the event, the final edition of Knolles's work, now titled *The Turkish History* (1687), contained Knolles's original text, continuations by Grimeston and 'M.B.' (edited by Roe), Rycaut's *History*, including his memoirs, a new continuation covering 1676–1686 by Sir Roger Manley, and Rycaut's *Present State*. In other words it aimed at nothing short of a comprehensive and up-to-date account of all of Ottoman history, followed by a systematic description of the Ottoman state, its laws, military, and religion. These massive volumes were funded by subscription, from no fewer than eighty-five other booksellers, headed up by Clavell, Robinson, Basset, and Churchill, who had acquired the rights to Rycaut's *History* (1680) following Starkey's indictment and flight to Holland, as a consequence of his Whig activism in the Exclusion crisis. Rycaut went on to publish one final work on the Turks, *The History of the Turks Beginning with the year 1679* (1700), which was essentially a continuation of his earlier *History* (1680). However, as this work was written in Hamburg and is primarily concerned with the War of the Holy League 1683–1699, rather than the Levant trade, I will examine it in Chapter 5, which explores the English reaction to that conflict.

If, as argued in Chapters 2 and 3, English publishing on the Turks tended to intensify in periods of conflict such as 1593–1606 and 1683–1700, it is equally true that the detail and accuracy of English knowledge of the Ottomans tended to be stimulated by trade and the diplomacy that its operation required. This chapter has examined the interrelationship of the Levant trade, with scholarly, and especially historical writing on the Turks. I have shown how Anglo–Ottoman economic and diplomatic contact, from its formal inception in the 1580s, came increasingly to inform many serious and detailed English accounts of the Ottoman Empire throughout the seventeenth century, though previous trends such as the translation of continental works also continued apace. However, both accounts of the Ottomans written by authors who were involved in trade and diplomacy, and narratives describing the trade itself, were shaped by widespread (and generally negative) contemporary commonplace views of the Turks and their character, as well as the existing English and European writing on the Turks. Further, historical discourse was, as I have argued throughout

this book, a prominent element of this writing. As a result, just as the concerns of the trade could come to inform historical writing on the Turks (e.g. later continuations of the *Generall Historie*), so the form of and market for histories of the Turks could shape accounts of the English trade (e.g. Rycaut's *History*). Finally, though it is tempting to contrast authors such as Rycaut, whose advocacy of trade, did somewhat soften his position on the Turks, to those such as Knolles who called for a unified Christian crusade against the Ottomans, this does not in fact do justice to the ambivalence and complexity of both of these authors' accounts of the Ottoman world. While accounts of trade and diplomacy such as Hakluyt's and Rycaut's often included vocal justification of the pragmatic value and morality of trade with the Ottomans, these vindications often ran parallel to deep-rooted tropes and perceptions of the Turks, their state and history, as they had appeared in contemporary commonplaces and historical writing.

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5
The War of the Holy League 1683–1699

The War of the Holy League 1683–1699 stimulated huge interest in the Turks in England including a large volume of historical writing.[1] Stretching from the siege of Vienna in 1683 to the peace of Karlowitz in 1699 this conflict marked a major watershed in Ottoman military power in central Europe, but also a radical shift in European perceptions of the Ottoman Empire. Not only did the loss of territory suffered by the Ottomans redraw the border from east of Vienna to west of Belgrade, but the turn of the eighteenth century also inaugurated a new era in European attitudes towards the Ottomans. This change evolved over the late decades of the seventeenth century and the early decades of the eighteenth. The historical writing of the War of the Holy League therefore stands at a point of transition, reflecting substantial continuities with the preceding period, but also prefiguring some aspects of what was to come. In the face of a critical Hapsburg–Ottoman military confrontation English authors and translators produced works in many ways similar to those that had characterised the responses to earlier times of crisis such as the Long War 1593–1606. Indeed many of these works continued to be shaped by the pattern, forms, and tropes of the established discourse on the history of the Turks. Nevertheless, while the structure and rhetoric of these works followed familiar contours, the dramatic defeats suffered by the Ottomans in this period were reflected in a striking shift from the perceptions of the Turks that had characterised the writing of the preceding century-and-a-half.

The roots of the War of the Holy League lay in the Hapsburg Emperor Leopold I's attempts to impose absolutist and Catholic rule on areas of Hungary. The consequent military occupation and persecution of Hungarian Protestants sparked a military revolt, led by Count Imre Thököly, who in 1682 was crowned king of upper Hungary (roughly

corresponding to modern day Slovakia), with Ottoman military backing. Hapsburg incursions against Thököly provided a pretext for a full-scale Ottoman invasion the following year. In July 1683 the Ottoman army, commanded by Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kara *Mustafa* (Grand Vizier 1676–1683), besieged Vienna, 'the *Bulwark* against the *Turks*, the Key of *Germany*, and of the *Christian* World', as one contemporary news pamphlet put it.[2] The emperor fled the city and the beleaguered defenders, led by Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg (1638–1701), held out for two months, withstanding eighteen assaults. Just as it seemed inevitable that the city would fall, it was relieved by allied forces under the overall command of Jan Sobieski III of Poland, who routed the Ottoman army at the battle of Vienna on 11–12 September, following which the Ottoman commander Kara Mustapha paşa was executed at Belgrade. The battle of Vienna was the subject of wild celebration across Europe, and Sobieski was lauded as a hero. However, this defeat was only the beginning of a series of military calamities for the Ottomans. In 1684 Imperial forces took the border fortress of Esztergom and unsuccessfully besieged Buda. At the initiative of Pope Innocent XI, a 'Holy League' was formed in 1684 between the Holy Roman Empire, Poland, and Venice, joined by Russia in 1686. The consequences of fighting prolonged military campaigns on several fronts proved catastrophic for the Ottomans. The city of Buda was taken by the Imperials in 1686, who then rejected an overture for peace from the Ottomans, instead pressing their advantage through a decisive victory at the second battle of Mohács in 1687, following which Sultan Mehmed IV was deposed.[3]

Away from the central European theatre, the Ottomans were forced to fight simultaneous but essentially separate conflicts against the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth, the Republic of Venice (i.e. the Morean War of 1684–1699, which resulted in the loss of the Morea and the Peloponnese), and Russia, to whom the Ottomans lost the important fortress of Azov (1696). The outbreak of Franco–Hapsburg fighting in the Nine Years War 1689–1697 divided Imperial forces, and led to a brief Ottoman resurgence in the early 1690s. However, a crushing defeat at the battle of Zenta in 1697 forced the Ottomans to accept harsh terms at the peace of Karlowitz, relinquishing control over Hungary, the Morea, and Peloponnese together with other frontier regions, a loss of territory unprecedented in Ottoman history. Though some of this territory was recovered in the following decades, the War of the Holy League was viewed as a decisive turning point in Ottoman power by many late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European observers.[4]

This lengthy and complex conflict, or rather series of interconnected conflicts, elicited an enormous and varied body of writing in English. In particular the sensational events of the siege of Vienna were widely reported in news pamphlets and the *London Gazette*.[5] While the tense diplomatic build-up had been commented on extensively, it was the invasion of the Turks 'falling with their formidable Forces like a Torrent into Hungary' that was matched by a corresponding flood of English pamphlets.[6] The eventual 'Christian' victory was relayed in elated tones with 'joy' and 'solemn thanks ... to Almighty God for the relief of the city of Vienna'.[7] Most contemporary reports were imbued with a pervasive atmosphere of triumphalism. For example, *A true Copy of a Letter sent from Vienna September 2d. 1683*,[8] begins:

> I Cannot but think it will be grateful News to all Christendom to hear of the Overthrow of the *Turkish* Army, therfore I make bold to send you this Letter to let you, and my Friends in *England* understand, as well as of my self, the preservation of a great part of Christendom, from the fury, rage and threatening Ruine, of that implacable and universal Enemy the *Turk*.[9]

This passage reflects two features common to many reports of the lifting of the siege of Vienna. Firstly, there is a tangible sense of identification with 'Christendom', presented in oppositional contrast to the 'universal Enemy the *Turk*', a recurrent theme in heightened times of conflict and crisis. Secondly, it reflects the widespread boastful elation that was evident following the battle of Vienna. However, although the tone of such hyperbole was often carried through into later historical works on the War of the Holy League (most of which dealt extensively with Vienna), the fundamental shift in European perceptions of the power of the Turks occurred later, once Vienna had been followed by numerous further victories, culminating in the treaty of Karlowitz. While the battle of Vienna was a dramatic moment, and seen as such by contemporaries, European attitudes to the Turks changed more slowly, across the decades of the War of the Holy League and into the eighteenth century.[10]

In addition to news pamphlets and papers, the events at Vienna were also described and commented on in a wider pamphlet literature of ballads, dialogues, political polemics, prophecies, as well as plays, almanacs, religious and apocalyptic writing, and sermons, a body of writing too large to survey here. It is worth noting, however, that pamphlet literature in particular often reflected contemporary English political convulsions of the popish plot, exclusion crisis, tory reaction, and

revolution of 1688, as much as continental events.[11] As a consequence of the concurrence of the siege of Vienna with a period of particular volatility in English politics, the line between straight news and polemic was often blurred. For instance, news pamphlets included numerous printed 'letters', such as *A True copy of A letter from Count Starembergh to the duke of Lorraine concerning the present condition of Vienna* (1683). The 'letter' form taken by such pamphlets might reflect a genuine provenance (i.e. an actual letter from Count Starhembergh) or it might serve more as a generic framing device for a news report ('a letter from a volunteer', 'a letter to a London Gentleman', etc.). However, these purportedly factual items overlapped in form and content with more explicitly fictive and polemical pamphlets such as *A Letter From Count Teckely to the Salamanca Doctor, giving an account of the Siege of Vienna, and the State of the Ottoman Army*, which though it declares itself to be a letter from the Hungarian Protestant rebel leader Count Thököly to Titus Oates, the central figure of the 'Popish Plot' trials, is evidently satirical. The forms and content of reports from Vienna became not only topical news, of interest in itself, but grist for the mills of the pamphleteering central to populist politics of the 1680s.

Interestingly, the politicised character of much of the extant pamphlet literature regarding the siege of Vienna was generally not reflected in the contemporary English historical literature dealing with the War of the Holy League. As it had throughout the seventeenth century the genre of historical writing continued to be one of the major avenues through which English authors articulated detailed intellectual engagements with the Turks, their empire, and their involvement in contemporary European affairs. However, in contrast to the pamphlets discussed above, historical works of the period tended to be more substantial, less polemically minded, and less immediately topical (i.e. they generally appeared longer after the events they described, as opposed to in the following weeks or months). It may be that authors and publishers of historical works, which tended to be lengthier and more expensive than pamphlets, were less inclined to make risky polemical statements, or that such books were more often dedicated to noble figures to attract patronage, and thus tended to shy away from taking strong political stances. Further, as historical works tended to cover extended periods of time and take longer to produce, the rapidly evolving political vicissitudes of the exclusion crisis may simply have been less reflected in such accounts. History is often a conservative genre of writing, and many of these books instead tended to reflect established trends in scholarly writing on the Turks from across the previous century-and-a-half,

for example, many were translations from continental books, while numerous newer or expanded editions of established authorities such as Knolles or Rycaut were also published. The new works that did appear also often either followed the models set by established writing, or drew source material from it to the point of being essentially derivative. Nonetheless, these continuities in form and content belie a profound change in English writing on the Turks, and by the end of the seventeenth century the transformation of Ottoman power in Europe, and resulting shift in European attitudes towards the Turks, were reflected in a radical departure from the tone and attitudes of the previous century-and-a-half of writing.[12]

Histories of the Turks 1683–1699

The vivid events of the War of the Holy League stimulated not only an avalanche of topical pamphlets reporting news and commenting on events, but also longer engagements with the Turks, their origins, history, and the background of both the recent war and the conflicts of the 'Turks' and 'Christendom' in a more general sense. In addressing such questions, authors turned to the models and narratives of established historical writing on the Turks. A representative example, that bridges the gaps between pamphlet news and the forms and content of existing historical writing on the Turks, is that of John Shirley. Shirley was a prolific minor author whose biography is unfortunately somewhat confused.[13] However, given that there are four works on the Ottoman–Hapsburg conflict attributed to 'John Shirley', 'J.S.', or 'J.S gent', and that these share many similarities in style, publisher, format, and language it seems most likely that these at least were by a single author, and I have treated them as such.

The first of Shirley's works on the Turks was *The History of the state of the present war in Hungary, Austria, Croatia, Moravia and Silesia* (1683). This was a relatively short history, printed in duodecimo for William Whitwood, with a title that presumably reflects the popularity of Rycaut's earlier *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (as later editions were titled from the 1670s). It reported on the early stages of the war and gave a 'mournful Account of the afflicted State of *Hungaria*, *Austria* and other Christian Countries, now groaning under the Oppression of the Turkish Sword'.[14] Longer than the news pamphlets published in immediate response to the siege of Vienna, but still a short work at 150 pages, it took its cues from historical writing on the Turks, detailing military campaigns and diplomatic intrigue, and

was preceded by an engraving of the central figures (The Sultan, Grand Vizier, Thököly, Emperor, and the imperial commander the Duke of Lorraine). While Shirley does not discuss his sources, from the character of his content he was most probably primarily informed by continental news pamphlets, which often served as sources on recent events for historical works. His publisher Whitwood also separately produced *The History of the Turkish war with the Rhodians, Venetians, Egyptians, Persians, and other Nations* (1683), which Whitwood promoted in a page-long advertisement at the conclusion of Shirley's work as 'The History of the *Turkish* War … Written by *Will. Caoursin'* (i.e. an account of the fifteenth-century Ottoman siege of Rhodes, see Chapter 1).[15] Thus, not only did Shirley's work draw upon an established discourse of historical writing on the Turks, but Whitwood also printed, sold, and promoted him alongside older authors of that tradition (such as Caoursin), who once more seemed relevant in the context of renewed Ottoman military involvement in Europe.

Shirley's first Turkish history was presumably successful as it was quickly followed up by the longer and better printed octavo, *The History of the Turks* (1684), for Thomas Passinger, William Thackery, and Thomas Sawbridge. The title probably reflects the continuing popularity of Knolles's *Generall Historie*, as it was widely known and referred to as 'The History of the Turks' or 'The Turkish History' (and was in fact republished later in the 1680s under that title). Written following the battle of Vienna, Shirley's work tacked a detailed account of the build-up and events of the siege onto a general account of the Turks, their origins, and history, cribbed in an abridged form from Knolles's *Generall Historie*.[16] Shirley's introduction comments:

> Since the late Alarms the Port has given to *Christendom*, I have thought it both Profitable and Convenient, to describe the Original of that Great Empire, which now spreads over near half the World, and to demonstrate by what means it aspired to its Immensity…[17]

For Shirley the established discourse of English writing on Turkish history, above all represented by Knolles, serves as a context in which to understand contemporary events and news reports, and also as a framing device in presenting these episodes to his readership. Writing eighty years earlier, Knolles had drawn his account of the origins of the Turks from humanist authors such as Sabellicus, and recycled these for a major work written in the context of the Long War. Writing later Shirley in his turn rehashed these same narratives from Knolles to flesh

out his brief account of the War of the Holy League. For both Knolles and Shirley the established literature served as a context in interpreting the Turks and their military involvement on the continent.

The prolific Shirley then followed up these publications with *The History of the wars of Hungary* (1685), which was again printed for William Whitwood in duodecimo (the format is the same as Whitwood's earlier *The History of the state of the present war in Hungary*). This book begins with a contextualising account of Ottoman–Hungarian conflict c. 1440–1683 (i.e. from the crusade of Varna), which was probably again primarily based on Knolles, followed by a more detailed account of the sieges of Vienna (1683) and Buda (1684). Once more Shirley combines context lifted from Knolles, with reports of contemporary events from news pamphlets to explain Turkish involvement on the continent to his readership.

Finally, we come to Shirley's last work on the Turks, a pamphlet of thirty-two pages titled *A true account of the heroick actions and enterprises of the confederate princes against the Turks and Hungarian rebels* (1686), printed for Thackery, Passinger, and Sawbridge. It described the events in upper Hungary following the siege of Vienna from the battle of Párkány (October 1683), to the capture of Newhausel (Ersekújvár, 1685) and Gran (Esztergom, 1685). It is notable that following his earlier *History of the Turks* (1684) Shirley again worked with the publishers Thackery, Passinger, and Sawbridge, to produce a pamphlet on this topic (one which picked up chronologically were his longer earlier effort left off), a fact which may indicate that his previous work with these publishers was commercially successful.

Taken together, Shirley's pamphlets and short histories connect the news published in immediate response to the siege of Vienna and the military campaigns that followed to a longer standing discourse of Turkish history, and established authorities such as Knolles and Rycaut. While his works attempt to provide a wider ranging historical context for the conflicts they describe, the form they take is notably different to the earlier works of the 1593–1606 conflict (folios such as Knolles, or quartos such as Hartwell's translations of Minadoi or Soranzo, or the *Policy of the Turkish Empire*). Shirley's short duodecimo histories and pamphlets (along with one notably better printed octavo) were derivative of a discourse of historical writing that had largely appeared in more expensive formats, in lengthier, better executed works, but also the news pamphlets that were his other major source. However, despite rehashing his sources Shirley's running commentary on contemporary Hapsburg–Ottoman conflict in central Europe was well-received by his

English audience, if his pattern of repeatedly working with the same publishers is any indication. These short, cheap works, connecting Ottoman news to Turkish history, are indicative of the expansion of English print by the 1680s, but also of the degree to which an English discourse on Turkish history had become firmly established by this period.

Shirley's works were not the only short derivative histories, which bridged the gap between contemporary news pamphlets and established historical discourse on the Turks, and other books of this kind also flourished at this time. A further example is Thomas Mills's *The History of the Holy War* (1685), printed for Thomas Malthus in the same format as Whitwood's editions of Shirley's works (i.e. duodecimo, with similar margins, print quality, and length). Mills connects his work to previous scholarship on the crusades that has 'not only been the amusement of the *Learned* Pens of other Nations, but of a **Celebrated Author* of our own [Margin: * Dr. *Fuller*]', a reference to Thomas Fuller's *The historie of the holie warre* (1639).[18] He goes on to draw a parallel between the historical conflicts described by Fuller (i.e. the crusades) and contemporary events:

> [A]t this day the *Turks* to spare the *Christians* pains in going so far as *Palestine*, have done them the unwelcome courtesie, to come more then half the way to meet them, but yet it is to be hoped that if they lose *Buda*, which they cannot in all possibility avoid, they will be wholly driven out of *Europe*, by the Victorious Arms of the *Christians*; and that it will not be long before their vast and overgrown Empire be finally ruined…[19]

Millls both draws upon previous historical writing to contextualise the events he described and mimic its form. Similarly to Shirley, for Mills established historical discourse on the Turks (here primarily the *Seljuks*), helps to orient and frame his understanding of the Ottoman role in contemporary events. However, his confident prediction of the end of Ottoman power in central Europe, made in 1685 in the years following the dramatic Christian victory at Vienna, stands in contrast to earlier writing. While auguries of the downfall of the Ottoman Empire were common enough in earlier periods, they were generally stated in eschatological or prophetic terms, rather than the self-assured and matter-of-fact opinion articulated here.

In addition to the numerous pamphlets, and shorter histories such as those of Shirley and Mills, a number of longer and more authoritative

works were written on the topic of the War of the Holy League and the Turks more generally, while a number of new editions of older books were also printed. As in previous decades this output included numerous translations from continental works. For example, the French author Jean de Préchac's *Cara Mustapha, grand vizir, historie contenant son* élévation*, ses amours dans le serrail, ses divers emplois, le vray sujet qui lui a fait entreprendre le siege de Vienne, et les particularitez de sa mort* (1684), was translated by Francis Philon, for the stationers Langley Curtis and Henry Rhodes in 1685. The introduction noted that this topical work had 'deserved a general approbation in its own Country', and it was 'not to be doubted, but it will find the same acceptance in its Travels in *England*, being dressed up after the *English* fashion.'[20] Préchac's work was evidently topical enough that a second, seemingly separate, anonymous translation was also printed by Henry Hills for John Whitlock.[21] An English translation of André Du Ryer's Koran titled *The Alcoran of Mahomet* first published in England in 1649 was also republished in 1688.[22] Furthermore, interest in the Turks stimulated by their topicality may also account for the translation and printing of numerous French travel accounts of the Levant and Ottoman Empire in the later 1680s, such as those by William Joseph Grelot, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, and Jean de Thévenot.[23]

Rycaut's *The History of the Turks* (1700)

The renewal of major Hapsburg–Ottoman conflict acted as a spur to English publishing on the Turks, including a number of new editions of Knolles and Rycaut's works. In fact, Rycaut's *History of the Turkish Empire* had been published in 1680, three years before the outbreak of this conflict (for its context see Chapter 4). However, following the outbreak of war a number of longer works appeared, including not only a new edition of Rycaut's *Present State* (1686), but a massively expanded edition of Knolles's, by now classic, *Generall Historie* titled *The Turkish History* (1687). This final edition of the *Generall Historie* in two mammoth folio volumes comprised of a selection of component texts including Knolles's original; continuations by Grimeston and M.B. (edited by Roe); Rycaut's *History* of 1680; a new continuation covering 1676–1686 by Sir Roger Manley; and Rycaut's *Present State* (1666). Lastly, Rycaut's final work, *The History of the Turks beginning with the year 1679* (1700), was essentially a continuation of his earlier *History of the Turkish Empire* (1680), tracing events up to the treaty of Karlowitz. Rycaut's last published work ended the remarkable sequence of texts and editions

stretching back to Knolles's original history in 1603, and taking in continuations, pirate editions, abridgements, as well as Rycaut's *Present State* and histories of 1680 and 1700.[24]

Rycaut had sought to replace Knolles as the primary English authority on the Turks, but he was ultimately forced by pressure from his publishers to make his later works conform to the model set by the former author. As a consequence Rycaut's *The History of the Turks* (1700) was written to the model of Knolles's continuations and picked up where his former work of 1680 left off. However, while the content and form of this work echo established writing on Turkish history, the attitudes that the work embodies reflect a fundamental change in the general tenor of English perceptions of the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century. This contrast is especially clear in comparison to Rycaut's earlier writing, of which the central work was *The Present State* (1666).

The Present State (1666) was written by a young, ambitious, dynamic Rycaut living at Constantinople and eager to prove his worth to king and Company. In contrast *The History of the Turks* (1700) was written by an older Rycaut reconciled to a minor post in Hamburg, whose powers of analysis and description were by then perhaps declining. Certainly the writing is far less crisp and concise. However, he was also writing in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of Ottoman power in central Europe, and Rycaut acknowledges the dual shift in his perspective and the fortunes of the Ottomans to his readers:

> I Would not have Thee entertain a worse Opinion of this *History*, by Reason of the Place where it was Wrote and Finished, being at a far distance both from *Constantinople* and *Vienna*: Though perhaps it might have been more lively, had its Colours been laid on in the Places themselves, where the Actions were performed; and at a time when the Humour of the *Turks*, and the *Idea* I conceived of their Actings, had taken so strong an Impression in my Mind...[25]

Not only Rycaut's physical location and proximity to events had changed, but also his sources. Having made great play throughout *The Present State* of his personal experience of the Ottoman court, in this later work he relied on 'the continual News, and the constant Intelligences I received from *Hungary*, and other Parts which were the Seats of War between the *Christians* and the *Turks*…', in other words manuscript and pamphlet news reports, of the kind that also circulated widely in England.[26] Nonetheless, Rycaut remained well informed and as Sonia Anderson has shown, his correspondents included Matthew

Prior at The Hague, Consul George Broughton in Venice, Lord Paget (later transferred to Constantinople), George Stepney, and Robert Sutton in Vienna, and the well-connected interpreter Marc Antonio della Torre.[27]

The History of the Turks articulates a radically different attitude to Rycaut's earlier works on the Turks. Nowhere is this clearer than in his introduction:

> I might justly … think I need not Blot any more Paper for the future on any Subject relating to the *Turks*; for having arrived, at that great Period of the last Wars, concluded between the Emperor of *Germany*, and all his Allies against the *Turks*; It may appear how much the *Ottoman* Force is able to avail, when it is put into the Scale and Ballance against all *Christendom*.[28]

Rycaut's assertion that since 'great Ruin and Destruction of their Empire' the Ottomans are essentially no longer a topic worth writing about stands in total contrast to *The Present State*, in which he insisted that the primary reason the Ottoman Empire was of interest was because of the importance of the English Levant trade. More strikingly still Rycaut's blithe dismissal of the Ottomans in 1700, both in terms of their military capacity and importance as a topic worth writing about, would have been utterly inconceivable a mere twenty years before. It is not clear whether we should attribute the shift in Rycaut's attitude to the Turks to the depressed military fortunes of the Ottoman Empire, a change in Rycaut himself, or the sources on which he drew, but a combination of these factors seems the most likely explanation. The younger Rycaut's involvement in the Levant trade and diplomatic ambitions led him to emphasise the importance of his topic, while his residence in the Ottoman Empire also softened his attitudes. The later *History of the Turks*, written in 1700 by which time his life in Anatolia was but a distant memory, was based largely on gazettes and news of conflict and battles. This kind of pamphlets tended to present the Turks in highly oppositional terms, and in the wake of events such as the siege of Vienna (1683) and Buda (1686) they reflected a general mood of Christian triumphalism.

The shift in Rycaut's perception of the Ottoman Empire is also reflected in the central topics addressed in his works. *The Present State* (1667) had sought to accurately describe the workings of the Ottoman state, as a foundation for maintaining Anglo–Ottoman economic and diplomatic relations. *The History of the Turkish Empire* (1680) accounted

for the last few decades of contemporary Ottoman history, and placed an account of the progress of the English Levant trade at the heart of this project. In comparison, the *History of the Turks* (1700) was focused on depicting the War of the Holy League, and ultimately telling the story of the collapse of Ottoman power in central Europe. We might speculate that Rycaut, writing in his old age, saw these events as bringing the accounts of the Ottoman Empire, which had defined so much of his career, to a kind of conclusion. In this narrative the raising of the Siege of Vienna serves as a focal point, and it is described with similarly extravagant rhetoric to the news reports described above:

> Never was there a more heroick and generous Action performed in the World, than was this of the King of *Poland*, who, after a long and tedious March, so valiantly exposed his own Person to Hazard, and his Army in the face of an Enemy, which to human Appearance was Invincible; and all this to bring Relief and Succour to an Ally, and to maintain the Bulwark of *Christendom* against Infidels, and Enemies to the Christian Cause; 'tis such a piece of Bravery as cannot be parallelled with all its Circumstances in any History of past Ages; and therefore with much Reason and Justice were his Praises celebrated over all the Christian World...[29]

Jan Sobieski III is presented as the hero of Christendom, the decisive actor in an epoch making drama. However, while such aggrandising portrayals were certainly common enough in the news pamphlets published in the immediate aftermath of Vienna, for Rycaut, writing in 1700, these events seem to have taken on a still greater importance. While Christian victory at Vienna had been the subject of ecstatic celebration at the time, by 1700 these events had come to be seen as the first stages of the subsequent downfall of Ottoman power in central Europe and especially Hungary. Despite the nature of post-Vienna hyperbole, such an outcome had seemed far from assured in, say, 1684 as Imperial forces unsuccessfully besieged Buda.

Rycaut's attitude to the Turks in his *History of the Turks* (1700) is not merely a reflection of contemporary Christian triumphalism, of the sort that had characterised many news reports of the Siege of Vienna. Rather it is indicative of a deeper shift towards viewing the Ottoman Empire in a more negative and dismissive light. Interestingly these sentiments are often still expressed through the familiar tropes of the discourse of historical writing on the Turks in which he was writing. These trends – that is, a shift in attitude, but expressed through familiar

tropes – are particularly clear in passages where Rycaut explicitly compares the Ottoman Empire of the period in which he resided in it with the dire straits it had reached by the end of the century. For instance, the following passage compares the government of the Grand Viziers Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed paşa (in office from 1661 until his death in 1676) and Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa paşa (whose term ran from 1676 until his execution following the disastrous siege of Vienna in 1683):

> And here I cannot but observe, and say, That Justice is the proper means to render a People flourishing and happy; an Instance whereof we have through all the Government of *Kuperli*, who being a Person educated and skilful in the Law, administered Justice equally to the People… Wherefore let us look upon those Times which were as quiet, calm and peaceable as any that ever had smiled on the *Ottoman* state, and, justly attribute those Blessings to the Favour of Heaven, which was pleased in those Days to behold so much Justice and Equity dispensed to a People unaccustomed thereunto … But now that *Kara Mustapha* comes to succeed in the Place of so just and equal a Governour, a Person of Violence, Rapine, Pride, Covetousness, False, Perfidious, Bloody, and without Reason or Justice; we have nothing to represent at the beginning of his Government, besides his Oppression, Extortion, Cruelties and Acts of Injustice beyond any thing that was ever practised before in the Reign of the most Tyrannical Princes…[30]

The portrayal of the period of Ahmed Köprülü's government as 'Halcyon Days' of 'Law', 'equity', 'justice', 'peace' and 'quiet', and a period of exemplary government blessed with the 'Favour of Heaven', stand in total contrast to the depiction of the same time in Rycaut's earlier *Present State* (1666). This earlier work, written during Rycaut's first years in Ottoman lands, which coincided with the first years of Ahmed Köprülü's office, expounded a description of the Ottoman state under Köprülü as a tyranny, bounded and controlled only by the martial severity and arbitrariness of its law. The passage above, from the later *History of the Turks* (1700), presents a diametrically opposing view. It contrasts a now virtuous Köprülü to the villainous Kara Mustapha (whose first years in office were Rycaut's last at Smyrna), presented as an archetypal tyrant whose reign of terror is ultimately to blame for the disasters of the War of the Holy League. Rycaut's rhetoric rehabilitates Köprülü's reputation, in order that Kara Mustapha – a figure widely held responsible for the military debacle at the battle of Vienna – can be tarred with

the standard commonplace trope of Ottoman tyranny. The trope of tyranny is then used as an explanation for Ottoman military defeats, regardless of the fact that Rycaut also used this term to describe the Ottoman state in more prosperous and successful times. This approach is typical of historical writing on the Turks in late-seventeenth-century England. Although there has been a tangible shift in both Ottoman power and in attitudes to the Turks, this change is both described and rationalised through familiar tropes, forms, and structures.

Karlowitz and a change of paradigm

With the conclusion of the War of the Holy League in the peace of Karlowitz in 1699 several English books recapped these events, and in particular the siege of Vienna. As the preface to one account put it:

> The War that the Turks commenced against the Emperor in 1683 hath been attended with such remarkable Circumstances, that it will be hard to find in Ages past any thing more worthy of Publick View, or more capable of embellishing History.[31]

As with Rycaut's *History of the Turks* (1700), many of these works display a new attitude to the topic of the Ottomans. The old combination of fear and fascination that was such a hallmark of so much English writing on the Turks from the late-fifteenth-century to the close of the seventeenth began to disappear. Rather, these authors' attitudes to the Turks became more dismissive, negative, and homogeneous in the eighteenth century as Ottoman power in central Europe faded and such accounts were no longer balanced by a need to account for Ottoman military success and imperial power. Self-assured of their own cultural superiority, eighteenth-century writers on the history of the Turks began treating Ottoman power as something that belonged to a previous age. For example, D. Jones's *A Compleat History of the Turks: From Their Origin in the Year 755, to the Year 1701*, a work written in 1719, but which drew heavily upon both Knolles and Rycaut, began:

> The *Turks* have been a Nation now for many Ages past, that from an obscure Original became so fam'd for their Conquests and Warlike Atchievements, and of latter Years so remarkable for the terrible Overthrows and Losses they have sustain'd, that a Compleat History of the Rise, Progress, and Decay of their Empire, cannot but expect a kind Reception from the Intelligent Reader…[32]

The rhetoric of this passage is obviously deeply beholden to Knolles. However, what is more striking is Jones's assessment of the 'Decay' of the Ottoman power. Furthermore this assessment is articulated through an established commonplace of historical literature: the life-cycle of empires. This progression of expansion, power, and decay was deeply rooted in both classical theories of cycles of history and mutability (e.g. Polybius) and biblical texts such as the prophecy of Daniel, and had become commonplace in renaissance and later reformation historiography. Indeed, as we saw in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3 this cyclical view of history (particularly the prophecy of Daniel) was integral to both English and European historical writing on the Turks. Knolles himself expressed sentiments in a similar vein:

> [I]t [i.e. the Ottoman Empire] must needs (after the manner of worldly things) of it selfe fall, and againe come to nought, no man knowing when or how so great a worke shall be brought to passe, but he in whose deepe counsels all these great revolutions of empires and kingdomes are from eternitie shut up…[33]

The key difference is that for Knolles, writing a century before Jones, the Turks are self-evidently the primary imperial power of his time. Thus, though he fully expects that this power and pre-eminence shall pass as all things must (and indeed he points hopefully to possible symptoms of this), he projects this revolution into the future, and thereby into the realm of prayer, hope, and eschatology. In Jones's later work the presumption is that the life cycle of the Ottoman Empire has entered its final phase, and this is reflected in his subtitle 'the Rise, Growth, and Decay of that Empire'. Just as Rycaut had sought to rationalise the new phenomenon of catastrophic and repeated Ottoman military losses through the familiar model of Ottoman tyranny, Jones applied the conventional cyclical theory of history – so often used as the basis of prophecies of the downfall of the Ottomans – to describe the new reality of the Ottoman loss of central Europe.

Aslı Çırakman has suggested that European literature on the Ottomans became less diverse and heterogeneous in the eighteenth century as a result of widespread acceptance of the paradigm of 'Oriental despotism'.[34] According to this view, while during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries accounts of the Ottoman Empire were largely pejorative, they also had to account for and explain highly visible success as a militarily powerful and aggressively expansionist power. This rhetorical juggling act sought to explain the Ottoman Empire's power and military dominance

while sustaining its moral and religious inferiority. However, eighteenth-century descriptions were no longer constrained by the need to account for the Ottoman Empire's visible power within Europe. It was much easier to assert with conviction that the Ottomans were inherently inferior when they were no longer a successful military power expanding at the cost of Christian and European nations. As a result, eighteenth-century accounts became increasingly dismissive and secure in portraying the Ottomans and 'the Orient' in general as backward, degenerate, and stagnant. Whole works appeared describing this process of deterioration, such as Cantemir's *History of the growth and decay of the Ottoman Empire* (1734). These eighteenth-century perceptions of the Ottomans were formalised in the concept of 'Oriental despotism', most famously propounded by Montesquieu in *De l'esprit des lois* (1748).

The concept of 'Oriental despotism', as defined first by Montesquieu, formalised both existing notions of the structurally arbitrary character of Ottoman government, and a relatively new found confidence in western European military (and by extension cultural) superiority, and applied it in an abstracted and generalised 'Orient'. However, as this chapter has shown, a precursor to this process was a shift in perceptions of the power and might of the Ottoman Empire as a consequence of the War of the Holy League. Such changes were not instantaneous. Though they grew out of the triumphalism that followed events such as the siege of Vienna, it was the accumulation of such victories across the course of the war, and above all the radical change in the territorial extent of the Ottoman Empire following the treaty of Karlowitz, which led to the widespread perception that Ottoman power was no longer what it once was. Neither was this shift total. As late as 1701, John Savage (1673–1747) in his abridgement of Knolles and Rycaut could echo the former's rhetoric in his description of 'the History of the *Turks*, who from a late and obscure Original are grown Terrible to *Christians*, and Formidable to all the World'.[35] However, while eighteenth-century English accounts of Turkish history continued to hark back to the rhetoric and narratives of an established body of writing a new era had begun.

Conclusion

Historical writing was absolutely central to the ways in which English authors engaged intellectually and culturally with the Ottoman Empire and what it meant to them. The histories of the Turks published throughout the period of Ottoman expansion into Europe and the Mediterranean, not only outlined the episodes and context of this advance, but made sense of them for an English audience. These works placed the story of the Ottoman dynasty within wider meta-narratives from their supposed 'Scythian' origins, to biblically framed eschatology, and in doing so English authors sought to give answers to fundamental questions such as, 'Who were the Turks?', 'Where did they come from?', 'How and why had they conquered such as vast area so rapidly?', and 'What was to be done about them?'.

As historical accounts of the Turks began to be published in England, authors, compliers, and translators turned to a continental discourse of Turkish history. This discourse had itself developed in response to successive Ottoman advances into Europe, most notably from the capture of Constantinople (1453) to the final fall of Buda (1541), during which time period the Ottoman Empire had expanded into a truly global power with territories stretching across three continents. However, as English authors took this material and reshaped it for new audiences it took on new meanings and forms that reflected its changing contexts. For example, the translations and appropriation of Paolo Giovio's widely read and concise chronicle *Commentario de la cose de Turchi* (1532), show how the developing and increasingly sophisticated European historiography of the Turks adapted to new contexts and was repurposed for agendas as diverse as evangelical polemic to courtly flattery. Giovio's *Commentario* is important because it illustrates the dual nature of the contexts at play in much English historical writing

on the Turks. On the one hand English historical discourse on the Turks was clearly a sub-set of a much wider continental historiography. However, if we are to understand documents such as the epistle to Whitchurch's edition of Giovio's *Commentario*, then we must relate them to the specific English contexts in which they were written, printed, and read.

If the genesis of English historical writing on the Turks lay in a wider European tradition, this discourse was also indelibly shaped by its English production contexts. For instance, while English writing on the Ottomans was certainly stimulated by their topicality during the Long War of 1593–1606, and drew upon a continental literature that described this conflict, it was also moulded by English contexts such as the development of the news pamphlet in the late-sixteenth century, and the patronage networks and socio-economic *milieu* in which historical authors wrote. Written during the Long War, and influenced by similar dynamics, the historian Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) did more than any other English work to give shape and form to English depictions of the Turks and their history throughout the early modern period. Though Knolles worked from continental accounts, his achievement was to synthesise these and give them coherence, rhetorical polish, and meaning, lending a pattern to English intellectual and cultural engagements with the Turks that continued to resonate into the nineteenth century.

Intellectual and cultural production did not exist in a vacuum from English material engagement with the Ottoman Empire. Indeed historical writing interacted vigorously with written accounts and documentary material generated by Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy, as well as the travel writing it helped stimulate. Just as first-hand descriptions of the Ottoman Empire and its relationship with England began to bleed through into English historical writing on the Turks, so histories of the Turks and their form, content, and rhetoric also influenced both travel writing and accounts of the trade. The English Levant trade was a substantial commercial concern from the late-sixteenth century, and produced both voluble and important English accounts of the Turks, most notably the works of the diplomat Paul Rycaut. Nonetheless this long-term context sat alongside the sharper and more focused interest in the Turks, which tended to be generated by periods of continental conflict such as the Long War of 1593–1606 and the War of the Holy League 1683–1699. The latter of these two conflicts serves as a bookend to this book, and I have argued that the catastrophic Ottoman military defeats and the unprecedented territorial losses that culminated in the

treaty of Karlowitz (1699), fundamentally altered European perceptions of the power and status of the Turks going into the eighteenth century.

This study has given a thematic and chronological overview of English historical writing on the Turks in the early modern period. Despite its chronological sweep it should not be taken as an attempt to provide an exhaustive survey of that literature. Although I have tried to consider this discourse in its broad socio-cultural and literary contexts, there is obviously further work that could be done in this regard. For example, I have not discussed the use of Turkish history in art, or in fictive settings in literature such as plays or romances. The adaption and appropriation of an author such as Knolles in early modern drama would be a promising avenue for future research. Rather this study has tried to identify some key themes that I will now recap.

I have treated historical writing on the Turks throughout as a discourse. English writers on Turkish history did not only turn to continental works for sources to translate, but also for material to incorporate into compilations and original works (and in practice the boundaries blurred between these categories). In adapting and appropriating continental writing English authors adopted structures, forms, organising principles, rhetorical devices, images, language, and ideas, as well as anecdotal details and facts. However, the relationship between these discursive elements and the writing produced by English authors was not deterministic. Familiar elements of this discourse and its attitudes to the Turks, not only permeated into the writing of traditionalist, crusade supporting authors, such as Knolles, but also those such as authors such as Richard Hakluyt, and Rycaut who proactively advocated Anglo–Ottoman trade and diplomacy. While both commonplace perceptions and the conventions of historiography certainly shaped the form that was taken by English writing on Turkish history, these were only two of a range of contexts and influences, out of which a variety of opinions and positions might emerge (witness Knolles and Jean Bodin's divergent views on Ottoman tyranny).

A second key point here is that 'Turkish history', in the sense outlined above, was only one of a number of overlapping modes of writing at play in most English works of historical writing on the Turks. These included very general discourses such as the *ars historica* tradition dealing with the purposes and form appropriate to historical writing, which did much to set expectations moulding European treatments of episodes such as Bayezid I and Timur. Another general, yet foundational, example was neo-classical political philosophy, from which the concept of tyranny, which underpinned most systematic European accounts of

the Ottoman Empire, was drawn. Furthermore, historical writing also borrowed from related genres such the renaissance biographies of Paolo Giovio and others, which also often contained similar ideas. Alongside these generalised reference points sat more specific discourses such as the long standing Christian anti-Islamic polemical tradition, which portrayed Islam as a heresy and divine punishment for Christian sin (i.e. the scourge or rod of God), and was itself part of a wider narrative of the tribulations of the church against heresy and the devil. It is in the overlap of these intellectual contexts in which we can come to a nuanced understanding of English portrayals of episodes of Turkish history such as the capture of Constantinople, which was treated as a political and moral object lesson in the dangers of religious and political division and schism.

English historical writing on the Turks responded to varied historical as well as discursive contexts. It has been a central argument of this book that this writing was not constant across the early modern period but was stimulated by and reacted to contingent historical events, notably major Ottoman–Hapsburg conflicts in central Europe (and, particularly in earlier periods, the Mediterranean). We have focused upon the Long War of 1593–1606 and the War of the Holy League 1683–1699 as two periods that produced avalanches of English writing on the Turks, including many historical works. My survey of 12,284 early modern texts based on the EEBO TCP project phase one suggests that the decades of the 1600s and 1680s contained a particularly striking volume of the English writing on the Turks, although the specific figures should be taken as suggestive rather than definitive.[1] I would like to make two observations here. Firstly, moments of perceived continental crisis produced exceptional levels of interest in and writing on the Turks. Secondly, this writing was largely reactive, in that it primarily responded to the threat and reality of the continuing Ottoman advance into Europe, rather than say being a euro-centric 'orientalist' fantasy about the east driven by a desire to define or possess it in Saidian terms. Furthermore, I have argued throughout this book that these key periods also shaped wider English writing on the Turks in the longer term. The Long War, produced the most widely read and influential English account of the history of the Turks, Knolles's *Generall Historie*, which went on to influence the form, rhetoric, content, and expectations of much subsequent English writing on Turkish history.

English production contexts also helped to shape the form taken by Turkish histories. Here I am not merely referring to authorial biographies, careers, patronage circles, and intellectual contexts (though

these are of course important), but also the political, commercial, and print contexts in which these books appeared. Time and time again the form taken by English publications on Turkish history was fundamentally shaped by the circumstances in which it was printed. Pamphlets reporting on the Long War were part of the wider evolution of news sheet forms and markets in the late-sixteenth century. Knolles's *Generall Historie* would probably have seen numerous further editions had the Stationer Andrew Hebb not sued its printer Adam Islip over his right to profit from the copy (its split ownership was itself a result of the expense of producing such a lengthy and elaborate volume). Rycaut's later writing was forced to conform to the earlier model of Knolles's work by his publisher's desire to capitalise on the market for that popular volume. Later still, news accounts of the siege of Vienna appeared in one-off pamphlets and the *London Gazette* as a result of the government crackdown on broadsheet newspapers following the legal repression of the Whig challenge to Royal authority in 1682. Published writing on Turkish history was shaped by English cultural, religious, economic, and political factors as much as by Ottoman military campaigns and continental literary precedents.

It bears saying unequivocally that the majority of English accounts were overwhelmingly pejorative in their portrayals of the incidents and personages of the history of the Turks. Focused, as many of them were, on the circumstances and context of the Ottoman advance into Europe and the Mediterranean they cast the Turks as an alien, barbarous, and anti-Christian enemy, in relentless opposition to the quaking remainder of 'Christendom'. However, the picture was never as stark as all this suggests, and English writing on the Turks was also characterised by ambivalence and a deep fascination with the Ottomans that mixed with the fear they often provoked. Above all English, and European, authors struggled to account for the military prowess, wealth, and imperial might of the Ottoman Empire and this could not be done in purely negative terms. As a consequence numerous accounts expressed admiration of Ottoman military institutions such as the *Janissary* corps, or the *Timar* system, and some even suggested emulating them, for instance, by adopting a standing army. Beyond this the alien and unfamiliar character of facets of the Ottoman state such as the *Kul* system, the *devşirme* levy, and the harem, exerted an undeniable degree of fascination for authors writing on the Turks, though this was often expressed in exoticised or morbid terms.

More profoundly the wealth and trading opportunities presented by the Ottoman Empire, and its important place as a central power

in European politics from the mid-sixteenth century, drew European nations, including of course the English, into trade and diplomatic relationships with the Ottomans. In fact many major European nations maintained established trade with the Ottoman state, which in practice required a healthy diplomatic relationship, including the Venetians, Genoese, French, English, and from the early seventeenth century the Dutch. The prevailing negative commonplace views of the Turks common in England, and elsewhere in Europe, did not stand in the way of, or even particularly discourage, the exercise of profitable commerce. Indeed given Ottoman military power in central Europe and the Mediterranean, and their long standing and recurrent conflicts with both the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburg it is not surprising that they were drawn into *entendes* with European nations such as the French and English, even if these could be controversial in Europe. However, while the evident advantages of commercial and diplomatic relations with the Ottomans led numerous authors to write promoting or justifying these activities, and the Anglo–Ottoman relationship itself also generated numerous longer accounts of the Ottoman world from travel writing to political tracts, what is perhaps most striking is the antipathy many of these authors still felt to the Turks *themselves*. A hard-headed appreciation of the value of trade often sat comfortably alongside deeply rooted and pejorative commonplaces concerning the Turks, their religion, manners, moral character, and state.

Whether informed by a continental historiography describing the Ottoman advance into Europe, or by substantial personal experiences travelling or residing in the Ottoman Empire itself, English attitudes to the Turks and their history from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries were characterised by ambivalence and complexity. Although eighteenth-century authors often harked back to the rhetoric, forms, and content of the discourse of Turkish history that the earlier period produced, by that time the tone of their depictions of the Turks had shifted dramatically following the collapse of Ottoman power in central Europe, and a new era had begun.

Notes

Introduction

1. Knolles (1603), sig. A4 v.
2. George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun Anno Dominus 1610* (London: for W. Barret, 1615), 46.
3. Andrea Cambini and Paolo Giovio, *Two Very Notable Commentaries*, trans. John Shute (London: Rouland Hall for Humfrey Toye, 1562), in *EEBO*, sig. *1 r.
4. Samuel Johnston, *The Rambler*, II (London, 1767), 95:122, Saturday, May 18, 1751; Robert Southey, *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, Charles Cuthbert Southey, ed., II (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1850), 271, Southey to Coleridge, 'Greta Hall, March 12. 1804'; As for Byron, it was recorded by Count Pietro Gamba that on the 31 of January Alexander Mavrocordato visited Byron shortly after his arrival at Missolonghi (it had been Mavrocordato who persuaded him to travel to Greece in support of the revolution). While they conversed on Turkish history and the genealogy of Ottoman Emperors Byron recalled 'The Turkish history [i.e. Knolles] was one of the first books that gave me pleasure when a child: and I believe it had much influence on my subsequent wishes to visit the Levant, and gave, perhaps, the oriental colouring which is observed in my poetry', see Pietro Gamba, *A Narrative of Lord Byron's Last Journey to Greece Extracted from the Journal of Count Peter Gamba who Attended his Lordship on that Expedition* (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1825), 144. Further, Byron wrote in the margin of a copy of Issac D'Israeli's *Literary Character*: 'Knolles, Cantemir, De Tott, Lady M.W. Montagu, Hawkins's translation from Mignot's History of the Turks, the Arabian Nights, all travels or histories or books upon the east I could meet with, I had read, as well as Rycaut, before I was *ten years old*'.... The publisher Murray showed this annotated copy to the author, who included them as a note in a subsequent edition, see Issac D'Israeli, *The Literary Character, illustrated by the History of Men of Genius*, 3rd ed., I (London: Murray, 1822), 102.
5. For a full account of translations Rycaut's works and intellectual legacy see Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*: *Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667–1678* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 44, 45, and appendix 1, 294–97.
6. *The Present State*, sig. A4 v.
7. Bartolomej Georgijevic, *The Ofspring of the House of Ottomanno* (1569), trans. Hugh Goughe, in *EEBO*, sig. B1 r.
8. The concept of discourse underpinning this formulation owes much to the writing of J. Pocock and Q. Skinner, for summaries see J. Pocock, 'The reconstruction of a discourse' in *Political Thought and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 67; J. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2nd ed., 2003); Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

9. Anthony Grafton, 'The identities of history in early modern Europe' in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (London: MIT Press, 2005), 41–74; Anthony Grafton, *What was History: The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Donald R. Kelly and David Harris Sacks, eds., *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
10. Paulo Giovio, *A Shorte Treatise of the Turkes Chronicles, Complyed by Paulus Jouius Bishop of Nucerne*, trans. Peter Ashton from Franciscus Niger Bassiantes (London: Edwarde Whitchurch, 1546), sig. *5 r. See Cicero, *De Oratore* 2.36: 'Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis, qua voce alia nisi oratoris immortalitati commendatur?'.
11. Joad Raymond, 'News' in Joad Raymond ed., *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 377–397.
12. James Hankins, 'Renaissance crusaders: humanist literature in the age of Mehmed II', *Dumbarton oaks papers* 49 (1993), 111–207. On wider fifteenth-century Crusading lobbying, preaching, money raising, and planning see Norman Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat, 1453–1505* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
13. Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (London: Harvard University Press, 2008).
14. Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 18–21.
15. The Corpus EEBO_V2, also developed at Lancaster, is comprised of around 624 million words in 12,284 early modern texts drawn from the Early English Books Online (EEBO) database, and based upon the Text Creation Partnership (TCP) project phase one texts, hand transcribed at an accuracy of over 99.9 per cent. On CQPweb see Andrew Hardie, 'CQPweb - combining power, flexibility and usability in a corpus analysis tool', *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 17:3 (2012), 380–409.
16. This search resulted in 53,592 hits for the term 'Turk' across 3,548 separate texts, from a survey of 12,284 works.
17. The normalisation was done in order to compensate for chronological variation in the number of words in the database per decade, for example, one would expect more texts and words in the 1670s than the 1570s due to factors such as the print output of these decades and the lower survival rates for older works.
18. Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture, 1640–1685* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007).
19. Anders Ingram, 'English literature on the Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' (unpublished PhD, University of Durham, 2009); Anders Ingram, 'The Ottoman Siege of Vienna (1683), English Ballads and the Exclusion Crisis', *Historical Journal* 57:1 (2014), 53–80.

20. Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Birchwood, *Staging Islam*; Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Daniel J. Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Ros Ballister, *Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England 1662–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
21. Daniel J. Vitkus, 'Early modern Orientalism: representations of Islam in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe' in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. M. Frassetto and D. Blanks (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 207–230; Mustafa Soykut, *Image of the 'Turk' in Italy: A History of the 'Other' in Early modern Europe, 1453–1683* (Berlin: K. Schwartz, 2001). In later work Vitkus adopts more sophisticated models.
22. Vitkus, *Turning Turk*; Dimmock, *New Turkes*; Birchwood, *Staging Islam*; Maclean, *Looking East*; M. E. Yapp, 'Europe in the Turkish mirror', *Past and Present* 137 (1992), 134–155.
23. Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 131–59; Dimmock, *New Turkes*, 20–86.
24. For examples of the centrality of the concept of the 'Other' in postcolonial writing see Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, trans. Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 94–120; Satya P. Mohanty, 'Colonial legacies, multicultural futures: relativism, objectivity and the challenge of otherness', *Publication of the Modern Languages Association* 110:1 (1995), 108–118.
25. Note that while focusing on periods of aggressive Ottoman advance into Europe is appropriate for a study of European perceptions of the Ottomans, this is not to imply that the 1600s and 1680s were necessarily key periods for the history of the Ottoman Empire itself. On periodization debates amongst Ottomanist scholars see Christine Woodhead, ed., *The Ottoman World* (Oxford: Routledge, 2012), 3–4.
26. On trade and diplomacy pre-capitulations see Alfred Cecil Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), 1–14; Susan Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578–1582: A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 5–79.
27. On the *devşirme* see Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 351. For generalist reference on Ottoman terms see Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Alan Master, *Encyclopaedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009).
28. 'And hereof cometh it to passe, that the better part of them, whom we call Turks (but are indeed the children of Christians, and seduced by their false instructors) desire to be called Musulmans (that is to say, right beleevers) hold it a reproachfull and dishonourble thing to be called Turks', Knolles (1603), 333; also 'they call themeselves *Islami*, that is to say men of one mind', Knolles (1603), sig. A5 r.
29. Gerald MacLean, *Looking East*, on 'Turks', 6–8; Ingram, 'The Ottoman Siege of Vienna (1683), English Ballads and the Exclusion Crisis'.

30. On English usage of the terms 'Turk' and 'Moor' and their diachronic evolution in line with English military and economic power in North Africa from the mid-seventeenth century, see Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589–1689* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 3, 8–10, 28–33, 171–172.

1 Turkish History in Early English Print

1. William Caxton, *Cronicles of Englond* (London: William Caxton, 1480), in *EEBO*, fol. 171 v.
2. William Caxton, *The Boke Intituled Eracles* (London: William Caxton, 1481), in *EEBO*, sig. A3 r.
3. See R.N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 58–59, 64, 203, 403; R. N. Swanson, 'Caxton's indulgences for Rhodes, 1480–81', *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 5:2 (2004), 195–201.
4. Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).
5. Little is known of the translator John Kay who describes himself as 'poete lawreate' in the dedication to Edward IV. This term does not necessarily suggest a court position and may simply indicate being honoured with a laurel wreath as contemporary John Skelton was by the Universities of Oxford and Louvain. See John Scattergood, 'Skelton, John (c.1460–1529) *ODNB*. See also Theresa M. Vann, 'John Kay, the "Dread Turk", and the Siege of Rhodes' in *The Military Orders*: *History and Heritage*, ed., Victor Mallia-Milanes, III (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 245–252. Vann suggests that Kay supplemented Caoursin's account with Pierre d' Aubusson, *Relatio obsidionis Rhodie* (1480).
6. Malcolm Hebron, *The Medieval Siege: Theme and Image in Middle English Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 77–84, 78. Hebron argues that 'Kaye [*sic*] makes various changes to his source, and reshapes the chronicle to present the siege as a narrative with distinct moral purpose, with heroic or villainous characters in the tradition of romance writings', however, these tropes are also common in fifteenth-century accounts of the Turks of the kind described by Hankins or Meserve.
7. Guillaume Caoursin, *The Siege of Rhodes*, trans. John Kay (London: ([1481–1484]). G. G. Duff, *Fifteenth-century English Books: A Bibliography of Books and Documents Printed in England and of Books for the English Market Printed Abroad* London: The Bibliographical Society, 1917), 21, claims that the type is consistent with that used by Lettou and Machlinia in the years 1482–1484.
8. On Isidore's various letters describing the siege, including that to Nicholas V see Marios Philippides and Walter K. Hanak, *The Siege and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 28–29.
9. Margaret Meserve, 'News from Negroponte: Politics, Popular Opinion, and Information Exchange in the First Decade of the Italian Press', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59:2 (2006), 440–480, 442. More than a dozen contemporary Italian texts survive describing the fall of Negroponte in Latin and Italian.
10. Matthew Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in Early Modern English Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 25.

11. *Here begynneth a lytell Cronycle* (London: Richard Pyson, 1520), in *EEBO*, a translation of Hayton's early fourteenth-century chronicle *La Flor des Estoires d'Orient*.
12. John Froissart, *Here begynneth the thirde and fourthe boke of Sir John Froissart*, trans. Johan Bourchier (London: Rycharde Pynson, 1525), in *EEBO*.
13. Sebastian Brandt, *The Shyppe of Fooles*, trans. Alexander Barclay (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1509), in *EEBO*. Also printed 1517 and in 1570 by John Cawood.
14. Mary C. Erler, 'Copland , Robert (*fl.* 1505–1547)', *ODNB*, claims that this is taken from the account of Caoursin presumably abstracted from Guillaume Caoursin, *Fondement de l'ordre de la chevalerie des hospitaliers de saint Jehan Baptiste de Jherusalem* (Paris, 1493).
15. 'Jacques de Bourbon', *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, ed. F. Hoefer, VII (Paris: Firmin Didot Fréres, 1855), 42. See also Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571*, III (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1984), 209–211.
16. Coplande went on to translate and print a further tract on Ottoman military affairs titled *The Tryumphant Vyctory of the Imperyall Mageste agaynst the Turkes* (1532). The sole copy survives in Pierpont Morgan Library, NY, and I have been unable to consult it.
17. Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400–1536* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 131–159.
18. Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 19–86.
19. On English perceptions of the Ottoman and wider Islamic world see Nabil Matar and Gerald MacLean, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558–1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6–12.
20. John Rastell, *A replie against an answer (falslie intitled) in defence of the truth* (Antwerp, [1565]), in *EEBO*, fol. 179 v. John Rastell the Jesuit, not the earlier John Rastell who printed Thomas More and conducted Reformation debates with Frith.
21. Dimmock, *Mythologies*, 36. I have not addressed the parallel tradition of Mahomet as an idol inherited from medieval romances, as it is less relevant to historical and scholarly works than to romance and drama.
22. On interest in Islam outside Reformation polemic see, for instance, *A lytell treatyse agaynst Mahumet and his cursed secte* (1531), by the legal writer Christopher St German, who although critical of the Church of Rome was theologically conservative. Richard Rex, 'New Additions on Christopher St German: Law, Politics and Propaganda in the 1530s', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 59 (2008), 284–286. See also J.H. Baker, 'St German, Christopher (c.1460–1540/41)' *ODNB*.
23. Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West*: *The making of an image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960); R.W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962); M. Frassetto and D. Blanks, eds., *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999).
24. Harry Clark, 'The publication of the Koran in Latin: a Reformation dilemma', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 15:1 (1984), 3–13; On Bibliander's Koran see

Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 109–121.

25. Emidio Campi, 'Early Reformed Attitudes towards Islam', *Near East Theological Review* 31 (2010), 131–151; Katya Vehlow, 'The Swiss reformers Zwingli, Bullinger and Bibliander and their attitude to Islam (1520–1560)', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, VI (1995), 229–254.
26. Theodore Bibliander, *A Godly consultation unto the Brethren and Companyons of the Christen Religyon by what meanes the cruell power of the Turkes, bothe may, and ought for to be repelled of the Christen people*, trans. Radulphe Bonifante [i.e. M. Crom] (Basel [i.e. Antwerp]: [M. Crom], 1542), in *EEBO*, fol. 6 v.
27. Theodore Basaille [i.e. Thomas Becon], *The New Pollecye of Warre, wherin is declared not only how y[e] mooste cruell Tyraunt the great Turke maye be overcome but also all other enemies of the Christen publique weale* (London: John Mayler for John Gough, 1542). Republished the following year under the title Theodore Basaille [i.e. Thomas Becon], *The true defe[n]ce of peace wherin is declaredde the cause of all warres now a dayes, and how they maye be pacified, called before the pollecye of warre* (London: John Mayler for John Gough, 1543).
28. Theodore Basaille [Thomas Becon], *The New Pollecye of Warre*, sig. C4 v–D1 r.
29. An edition appeared in Paris from Chrestien Wechel 1542, and Antwerp by Joannes Steelsius 1542. Wechel also printed this work under the title *Briefve description de la court du grant Turc* in 1543 and 1546. Later editions appeared in Basel under the imprint of Sebastian Henricpetri in Latin in 1573, 1577, and in German in 1573, 1578, and 1598. On Gueffroy see Heidi Stein, 'Geuffroy, Antoine', *Brill Encyclopedia of Islam Online*, 3rd ed.; Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature (1520–1660)* (Paris: Boivin, 1938), 185–189. The English translation is likely, though not certainly, by Grafton. Grafton also published the short tract Nicholas Villegagnon, *A lamentable and piteous treatise ... wherin is contayned, not onely the enterprise of Charles V. to Angier in Affrique* (London: Richard Grafton, [1542]).
30. The book of Lamentations is no longer ascribed to Jeremiah.
31. Antoine Gueffroy, *The Order of the Great Turckes Courte*, trans. [Richard Grafton] (London: Richard Grafton, 1542), sig. *3 r.
32. Ibid., sig. *4 r.
33. Ibid., sig. *4 r–v.
34. Neither Mayler's pamphlet nor the Dutch original, *Een blijde tijdinghe ghesonden uut Italien aen de keyselijke majesteyt van marcquis Delgasto* (Antwerp: Christoffel van Ruremund), are dated. The events described include Barbarossa's departure from Toulon (May 1544), the battle of Ceresole (11 April 1544), and the battle of Serravalle (2–4 June 1544), but not the Treaty of Crépy (18 September 1544), and strongly suggest a date of June–September 1544 for both the Dutch original and English translation. This assertion challenges the current dating of these pamphlets in the USTC as [1542] and STC [1543] respectively.
35. *Joyfull New Tidynges*, trans. John Mayler, trans. (London: John Mayler for John Goughe, [1544]), in *EEBO*, sig. A2 r–v.
36. Ibid., sig. C4 v.
37. Ibid., sig. F4 r.

38. *For as moche as by credyble meanes it hath bene declared to the Kynges Maiestie* (London: Tho. Berthelet, [1543]), in *EEBO*.
39. Mayler, *Joyfull New Tidynges*, sig. E3 r.
40. Seymour Baker House, 'Becon, Thomas (1512/13–1567)', *ODNB*.
41. Alec Ryrie, 'Gough, John (d. 1543/4)', *ODNB*.
42. Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 19.
43. Ibid., 38, 113–114; On the pamphlet controversy following Cromwell's execution in which Gough and Grafton both printed ballads, and for which both were punished, see P. M. Took, 'Government and the Printing Trade, 1540–1560' (Unpublished PhD, University of London, 1978), 122–124.
44. Meraud Grant Ferguson, 'Grafton, Richard (c.1511–1573)', *ODNB*; Alec Ryrie, 'Whitchurch, Edward (d. 1562)', *ODNB*.
45. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, 115.
46. In light of these 'errors' the apparent typographical mistake '1524' (i.e. 1542) on the title page of *The Order of the Greate Turckes Courte* may also be significant.
47. T.C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-century Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 121.
48. Figures derived from USTC. Dissemination from Italian into French, German and English occurred through the medium of the Latin edition.
49. On Francesco Negri see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 78 (2013), accessed through www.treccani.ie. On Rihel see Jean François Gilmont, *John Calvin and the Printed Book*, trans. Karin Maag (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2005), 181–182. Rihel had also previously published news on the Turks see *Newe Zeitung des Ratschlags und reyss der kriegssrüstung so der Türck newlich wider Karolum den Roemischen Keyser und die Christen fürgenommen mit anzeygung der niderlag so er von dem Sophi erlitten hat auch mit warhafftigen beschreyben der religion unnd weys zu kriegen so die persier gebrauchend* (Strasbourg: Wendelin Rihel, 1536).
50. See for example the comparison between the Pope and Suleiman I, Francesco Negri, *A certayne tragedie wrytten fyrst in Italian, by F.N. B. entituled, Freewyl*, trans. Henry Cheeke (London: [Richard Jugge], [1573]), in *EEBO*, 25. On the influence of Negri's polemic in England see Anne Overell, *Italian Reform and English Reformations, c. 1535-c.1585* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 89–90.
51. The edition also includes 'De Byzantio' by Egnatius, plus eulogies 'ad Germaniam' by Sabinus and 'Elegia' of Joannis Stigellii.
52. Paolo Giovio, *Ursprung des Turkischen Reichs*, trans. Jonas Justus from Francesco Negri (Wittenburg: [Jospeh Klug], 1538).
53. Paolo Giovio, *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes chronicles*, trans. Peter Ashton (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1546) sig. *5 v.
54. Giovio, *A shorte treatise*, sig. *6 r.
55. Ibid., fol. lxiiii.r. Interestingly although Ashton's account of Persia is deeply fantasist, his dating of 'Elias' 'Sophye' to 1502 is fairly accurate, and he removes Giovio's polemical comparison to Lutherism and the dating this suggests.
56. That is, between his assumption of Supreme Head of the Church of England in 1536, and the kingship of Ireland in 1541, see James P. Carley, 'The writing of Henry Parker Lord Morley: A bibliographical survey', in *Triumphs of*

English: Henry Parker, Lord Morely, translator to the Tudor court, ed. Marie Axton and James P. Carley (London: British Library, 2000), 28, 42.
57. David Starkey, 'Morley in the Tudor context', in *Triumphs of English*; Carley, 'The writing of Henry Parker Lord Morley' in *Triumphs of English*, 30.
58. BL Arundel MS 8, [fol. 1 r–v].
59. John Hooker, ed. John Maclean, *The life and times of Sir Peter Carrew* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857), 15–16; see also A. Parr, '"Going to Constantinople": English wager-journeys to the Ottoman world in the early-modern period', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 16:4 (2012), 349–361, 354–355.
60. Hooker, *The life and times*, 21–22.
61. BL Arundel MS 8, [fol. 1 v].
62. Revelation 12:3-4. 'And there appeared another wonder in heaven, and behold a great red dragon … and his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to earth'.
63. BL Arundel MS 8, [fol. 1 v].
64. The translator John Shute was unaware of Giovio's authorship of this tract, but I have identified the original work through comparison with the Italian edition.

2 Conflict, News, and History

1. See Introduction, ##. My survey of 12,284 early modern works in the form of a Corpus drawn from the EEBO-TCP phase one project identified a peak of 643 works containing variants of the term 'Turk' in the first decade of the 1600s, and it has the highest normalised occurrence of the term 'Turk' per million words in the Corpus for any decade.
2. Anders Ingram, 'English literature on the Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' (unpublished PhD, Durham University, 2009), 93.
3. *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, 1557–1695*, IV, eds. D.F. McKenzie and John Barnard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), appendix 1, 779–793. While a useful guide, Barnard and Bell's statistics on print output in early modern England require notable caveats that they have discussed in detail elsewhere, see M. Bell and J. Barnard, 'Provisional Count of STC titles 1475–1640', *Publishing History* 31 (1992), 48–64; M. Bell and J. Barnard, 'Provisional Count of Wing titles 1641–1700', *Publishing History* 44 (1998), and in particular Maureen Bell, 'A quantitative survey of British book production 1475–1700', in *The Scholar and the Database*. Papers presented on 4 November 1999 at the CERL conference, ed. Lotte Hellinga (London: Consortium of European Research Libraries, 2001), 15–21.
4. On the development of the market for foreign news in England, the absence of a substantial market for domestic news, and censorship, see Sheila Lambert, 'Coranto printing in England: the first newsbooks', *Journal of Newspaper and periodical history* 8:1 (1992), 3–19; Sheila Lambert, 'State control of the press in theory and practice: the role of the Stationers' Company before 1640' in *Censorship and the Control of print*, eds. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1992), 1–32; Sabrina Baron, 'The guises of dissemination

in early seventeenth-century England: news in manuscript and print', in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), 41–56.

5. Here 'pamphlet' can be taken to mean a short, cheap work, typically in quarto format and sold loosely bound or stitched, see Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 4–11.
6. I. Gadd, 'Wolfe, John (b. in or before 1548? d. 1601)', *ODNB*, Gadd asserts that from 1591 most of Wolfe's works were in fact printed by others notably Robert Bourne and from 1593 John Windet. On Wolfe see also Clifford Chalmers Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions: John Wolfe and His Press* (New York: Ams Press, 1988).
7. Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, 103–108. According to Raymond, Wolfe 'came very close to realising the possibility of the first British periodical newspaper', 108.
8. On English accounts of the Safavids and their conflicts with the Ottomans see Jane Grogan, *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549–1622* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
9. Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 71–99.
10. *[C]ertayn and tru good nues, fro[m] the syege [o]f the Isle Malta, wyth the goodly vyctorie, wyche the Christenmen, by the favour of god, have ther latyle obtained* (Ghent, 1565), in *EEBO*; *A copie of the last advertisement that came fro[m] Malta* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1565), in *EEBO*. Arber, I, 298, lists the further non-extant item *Letters of Sommon sente backe agayne by … Soltan Soliman to … Malta and also Saynte Elme*.
11. *A fourme to be used in common prayer every Wednes daye and frydaye* (London: William Seres, 1565), in *EEBO*; Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 65–72.
12. Bartholemej Georgijevic, *The ofspring of the house of Ottomanno and officers pertaining to the greate Turkes court*, trans. Hugh Gough (London: Thomas Marshe), sig. A4 r–v. The work is not dated, Gough's introduction to Thomas Gresham (d. 1579) refers extensively to the building of the London exchange completed in late 1568.
13. Georgijevic wrote several extremely popular books on the Turks including his *De afflictione, tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tributo viventium Christianorum* and *Turcarum moribus epitome*. On Georgijevic and Gough's English translation see Linda McJannet, 'The Translator as Emissary: Continental Works about the Ottomans in England' in *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550–1700*, eds. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 155–158. On long-standing confusion between Georgijevic and the author known as George de Hungaria see J.A.B. Palmer, 'Fr. Georgius de Hungaria, O.P., and the *Tractatus de moribus condicionibus et nequicia Turcorum*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 34:1 (1951), 44–68.
14. The battle of Lepanto and the extent of its long- and short-term significance have a lengthy historiography. See Fernand Braudell, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the age of Philip II*, 2nd ed. (London: William Collins, 1978), 1088–1142; Andrew C. Hess, 'The battle of Lepanto and its

place in Mediterranean History', *Past and Present* 57 (1972), 53–73; Niccolò Capponi, *Victory of the West: The Great Christian-Muslim Clash at the Battle of Lepanto* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2006); Palmira Brummett, 'The Lepanto Paradigm Revisited: Knowing the Ottomans in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, eds. Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 63–93. For English reactions to Lepanto see Dorothy Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances, 1350–1700* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1954), 162.

15. Not all of the source texts can be identified, however, the French source was *Entier discours de la victoire qu'il a pleu à Dieu donner aux chrestiens à l'encontre des Turcs* (Paris: Fleury Prévost, 1571).
16. *The true report of all the successe of Famagosta*, trans. William Malim (London: John Daye, 1572), in *EEBO*, sig. A4 r. Malim's tract was largely based upon Nestore Martinengo, *Relatione di tutto il successo di Famagosta*, which went through numerous Italian printings in 1571/1572. The whole English pamphlet was later reprinted in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, II (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberry, and Robert Barker, 1599), 117–131.
17. Arber, I, 436.
18. Celio Curione, *A notable historie of the Saracens*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: William How for Abraham Veale, 1575), in *EEBO*, dedication [no signatures]; Celio Curione, *Sarracenicae historiae libri III. In quibus Sarracenorum, Turcarum, Aegypti Sultanorum, Samalucarum, Assassinorum, Tartarorum, Sophianorumque, qui in Perside regnant, origines et incrementa explicantur* (Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1567).
19. Arthur Leon Horniker, 'William Harborne and the beginning of Anglo-Turkish diplomatic and commercial relations', *The Journal of Modern History* 14:3 (1942), 289–316.
20. Harborne's correspondence and papers survive in the Bodleian Tanner and BL Lansdowne collections. Numerous documents relating to the English Levant trade were published in Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberry, 1589). However, Hakluyt's work is by no means solely or even primarily about the Turks or their history, being concerned rather with English trade in general, and, in this capacity, the formal inception of the Levant trade.
21. Sometimes referred by modern scholars to as *Most rare and straunge Discourses, of Amurathe the Turkish Emperor that nowe is*, this short pamphlet was a translation of Franciscus Billerbeg, *Epistola Constantinopoli recens scripta. De praesenti Turcici imperii statu, et gubernatoribus praecipuis, et de bello Persico. Item confessio fidei, quam gennadius, Patriarcha Constantinopol* (Wittenberg, 1582), one of a number of *Zeitungen* Franz von Billerbeg authored 1582–1584.
22. Printed in London by John Wolfe.
23. Nicolas de Nicolay, *Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, made into Turkie*, trans. T. Washington (London: Thomas Dawson, 1585); Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et peregrinations Orientales* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouillé, 1567). See David Brafman, 'Facing East: The Western View of Islam in Nicolas de Nicolay's "Travels in Turkey"', *Getty Research Journal* 1 (2009), 153–160. A copy of the English edition belonging to the eminent Arabist and scholar William Bedwell (*bap*. 1563, d. 1632) who acted

as a translator for the Moroccan ambassadors who arrived in England in August 1600, and who later taught Edward Pococke, survives in the British Library. See BL 303.d.11; the copy is lightly annotated.

24. The figure of 'The Janissarie going to the warres', from the English translation of Nicolay's *Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, made into Turkie*, decorates the cover of this book.
25. Bihać in modern day Bosnia Herzegovina.
26. Sinan paşa or Koca Sinan paşa (c.1520–1596) was Vizier 1580–1582, 1589–1591, and 1593–1596. He was dismissed in February 1595 by Mehmed III, before being reinstated in August but rapidly dismissed again in November. He was however, brought back to office when his successor Lala Mehmed Pasha died, himself dying shortly after in 1596. See Robert Elsie, *A Biographical Dictionary of Albanian History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 416.
27. The name Hasan Paşa was a common one, and was shared by several contemporary Ottoman officials serving on their western border. Modern critics provide conflicting accounts of whether Hasan died at Sisak (presumably resulting from confusion over names). However, the broadly contemporary sources *A true discourse wherin is set downe the wonderfull mercy of God*, the German pamphlet from which it is translated, and the Ottoman Chronicle the *Tarih-i Naima* all agree that Hasan Paşa Governor of Bosnia died at the battle of Sisak. See Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream* (London: John Murray, 2005), 173; Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 7, 271; Mustafa Namia, *Annals of the Turkish Empire from 1591 to 1659 of the Christian Era*, trans. Charles Fraser, I (London: The Oriental Translation Fund, 1832), 15.
28. *A true discourse wherin is set downe the wonderfull mercy of God, shewed towardes the Christians, on the two and twenty of June. 1593 against the Turke, before Syssek in Croatia* (London: John Wolfe, 1593), in *EEBO*; *Soli deo gloria. Newe Zeittung warer erhaltenen und erlangten Victori, so undter der Fuerst* (Vienna: Leonhard Nassinger, 1593); Arber, II, 636.
29. This ballad is not extant but may have been a translation of Gregor Bregandt's German news ballad *Newe Zeitung. Kurtze jedoch gründtliche und wahrhaffte beschreibung dess nächst fürgangenen treffen unnd sigreichen lobwürdigen Victori so die Christen mit dem blutdurstigen Türckischen Hasan Bassa auss Bossen den 22. Junii lauffenden 93. jahrs in Crabaten landt bey Sissegg am Turopoliae Gott lob glücklichen erhalten und obgesiget* (Graz: Georg Widmanstetter, 1593). See Arber, II, 636.
30. D.R. Woolf, 'News, history and the construction of the present in early modern England', in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, 80–118.
31. Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, 6, 164.
32. News pamphlets on the Long War not published by Wolfe include: *A most great, wonderfull and miraculous victorie obteyned by the Christians againste the Turkes in Hungary, with the Copies of his Lettres sent to monsie*[u]*r De Baron de Billye* (Arber, II, 647); *A newe prophesie seene by the Viceere Sinan Bassa at his Comminge into Hungarie* (Arber, II, 652); *Newes from Rome, Venice, and Vienna, touching the present proceedinges of the Turkes against the Christians in Austria* (London: by John Danter, for Thomas Gosson, 1595), in *EEBO*; *Lamentable newes from Cassilia* (Arber, II, 295); *Newes from Constantinople,*

Vienna and diverse other places (Arber, III, 45); *Newes out of Vienna in Austria* (Arber, III, 46); *Newes from divers countries as, from Spaine, Antwerpe, Collin, Venice, Rome, the Turke, and the prince Doria* (London: Valentine Sims, 1597), in *EEBO*; *The warres between the turkes and the Christians from Charles Vth until ….* (Arber, III, 110); *True newes of a notable victorie obtayned against the Turkes, by the right honourable Lorde, Adolph Baron of Swartzburg* (London: By I.R. for Richard Olive, 1598), in *EEBO*; *A True relation of taking of Alba-Regalis in the German tongue, called Sfullweissenburgh* (London: by Ralph Blower, for C.B., 1601), in *EEBO*; *A dialogue and complaint made upon the siedge of Oastend … with certaine newes written towards London, from Italy, Fraunce, Hungary, and other places* (London: Mathew Law, 1602), in *EEBO*; *Newes of the Overthrowe of the Turkes by the Persians this yere 1602* (Arber, III, 222); *Historicall Relacons or a true discription of all matters worthie [of] memory in all Europe. Done by Andrew Strigell* (Arber, III, 241); *Newes from Malta* (London: Thomas Creede for John Hippon, 1603); *A Copie of [a] letter sent from the greate Turke to the Emperor of Germanie* (Arber, III, 295); *A farewell to the renouned and valient Captaine … Andrew Gray* (Arber, III, 295); *A Declaration of the Lordes and States of the Realme of Hungarie* (Arber, III, 302); *Letters from the great Turkes sent unto the holy father, the Pope and to Rodulphus naming himselfe King of Hungarie* (Arber, III, 328); *The Turkes newe yeres guifte, or the great Turkes letters sent to Divers Christian princes* (Arber, III, 337); *Articles of Peace agreed upon* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1607), in *EEBO*; *A copie of the letter in a Maner of Defiance by the Great Sophi of Persia to the great Turk* (Arber, III, 368). It is possible to identify the source material of several of the translated items and most of the extant items are also recorded in the Registers. See also Vernon Parry, *Richard Knolles' History of the Turks* (Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 2003), 92–104.

33. Probably translated from Barthoemej Georgijevic, *De afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tributo viventium Christianorum* (Antwerp: Gillis Coppens van Diest, 1544). The specific source edition for the translation is uncertain.
34. The pamphlet consists of two items printed in continuous signatures (A1–A4, B1–C3), and thus probably intended to be sold together. The first half is six pages of quarto, that is, the same format as the *True discourse*, while the second is longer at eleven pages.
35. For extant examples of the letters of Sultans sub-genre see *The copye of the letter folowynge whiche specifyeth of ye greatest and mervelous visyoned batayle that ever was sene or herde of and also of the letter yt was sent frome the great Turke unto our holy fad[er] ye pope of Rome* (Antwerp: John Dousborowe), in *EEBO*; *True copies of the insolent, cruell, barbarous, and blasphemous letter lately written by the Great Turke, for denouncing of warre against the King of Poland* (London: William Lee, 1621), in *EEBO*; *A vaunting, daring, and a menacing letter, sent from Sultan Morat the great Turke, from his court at Constantinople* (London: I. Okes, 1638), in *EEBO*.
36. Arber, II, 645; III, 107.
37. *True Newes of a notable victorie obtained against the Turks*, sig. A3 r; *Warhafftige zeitung, wie der gnedige Gott wider alles verhoffen dem Wolgebornen unnd Gestrengen herrn, Herrn Aloph Freyheren zu Schwartzburg …* (Nuremburg, [1598]), sig. A2 r.

38. On news pamphlets on the French Wars of Religion see Lisa Ferrarou Parmlee, *Good Newes from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1996), 12–52.
39. Gabriel Harvey, *A new letter of notable contents: with a strange sonnet, intitled Gorgon* (London: John Wolfe, 1593), in *EEBO*, sig. D3 r.
40. *Newes lately come on the last day of Februarie 1591. from divers partes of France, Savoy, and Tripoli in Soria* (London: John Wolfe, 1591), in *EEBO*. In this case the news is a spurious account of armies raised by 'Prophets' against the Turks in Aleppo and Tripoli, though it might be noted that the 1590s were indeed a period of civil unrest in the Ottoman Empire.
41. Ralf Carr, *The Mahumetane or Turkish historie* (London, 1600), in *EEBO*, sig. B2 v. Carr annexes a treatise on 'the causes of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire' by Uberto Foglietta and on this basis the whole of Carr's composite tract is sometimes taken to be a translation of Uberto Folietta, *De caussis magnitudinis imperii Turcici, et virtutis ac felicitatis Turcarum in bellis perpetuae* (Rostock: Augustin I Ferber, 1594).
42. *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* (London: John Windet for W.S. [William Stansby], 1597), sig. A3 v.
43. Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi, *History of the Warres betweene the Turkes and the Persians*, trans. Abraham Hartwell (London: John Wolfe, 1595), sigs A3 v–A4 r.
44. Turk plays of the period include *Soliman and Perseda* (c.1590); Robert Greene, *Selimus, Emperor of the Turks* (c. 1594); Thomas Dekker, *Lust's Dominion* (1600); Thomas Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West* (c. 1602); and William Shakespeare, *Othello* (c. 1603). There are many Turk-themed ballads recorded in the Registers in this period, though many of these concern the plight of Barbary captives and the heroism of English sailors rather than news from Hungary. See 'a newe prophesie seene by the Viceere Sinan Bassa at his Comminge into Hungarie' (Arber, II, 652); 'ye overthroe of the Turke' (Arber, II, 636); 'the seamens songe of Captayne Warde, the famous Pirate of the world an Englishman' (Arber, III, 414); 'the seamens songe of Danseker the Dutchman his robberyes and fightes at sea' (Arber, III, 414); 'The first parte of the widowe of England and her Seven sonnes who for the faythe of Jesus Christe were all most straungelie tor-mented to Deathe by the Turkes in Barbary' (Arber, III); 'the Second parte of the poore wyddowe of England shewinge howe strangelie God Revenged her Seaven sonnes deathe uppon the kinge of the Turkes' (Arber, III, 172).
45. On John Foxe, see Linda McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 58–60. Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 80–83. On commonplace images of the Turk in English protestant writing see Norman Jones, 'The adaption of tradition: The image of the Turk in Protestant England', *East European Quarterly* 2:12 (1978), 161–175.
46. Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi, *Historia della guerra fra Turchi et Persiani* (Rome: Alessandro Gardane and Francesco Coattino, 1587); Lazaro Soranzo, *L'Ottomanno di Lazaro Soranzo* (Ferrara, Vittorio Baldini, 1598).

47. Wolfe also printed other items by Hartwell, notably a translation of Lopes Duarte's *A report of the kingdome of Congo* (London: John Wolfe, 1597), in *EEBO*. Windet, who Wolfe frequently used as a printer, had earlier printed *The Policy of the Turkish Empire*, for 'W.S.' (William Stansby), who had in turn been Windet's apprentice, and had been freed as a member of the Company in January 1597.
48. Note the volume of works that were officially authorised varied over time, but the system was never as comprehensive as a literal reading of the wording of the legislation would imply. On the workings of censorship and authorisation see W.W. Greg 'Samuel Harsnett and Hayward's *Henry IV*', *The Library*, 1:11 (1956), 1–10; W.W. Greg, *Licensers for the Press to 1640* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1962); Annabel M. Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Cyndia Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Andrew Hadfield, ed. *Literature and Censorship in Renaissance England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Cyndia Clegg, *Censorship and the Press, 1580–1720* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009). In his role as censor Hartwell allowed numerous works by Wolfe.
49. Cited from Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, 52.
50. Lazaro Soranzo, *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo*, trans. Abraham Hartwell (London: John Windet, 1603), sig. para.2 r–para.3 r.
51. He gave a paper on epigrams in 1600, see Parry, *Richard Knolles' History of the Turks*, 11.
52. Ibid., 31–33.
53. Moyle Finch (1550–1614), who married the daughter of Sir Thomas Heneage. His grandson Heneage Finch, Earl of Nottingham (whose father was also called Heneage), was cousin to the Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea, who served as ambassador to Constantinople 1660–1669.
54. Minadoi, *History of the Warres Between the Turkes and the Persians*, sig. A2 v.
55. Ibid., sig. A3 r. On Hans Lewenklaw see Chapter 3, ##–##.
56. Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, '"Studied for Action": how Gabriel Harvey read his Livy', *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 30–78; Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, 'Pragmatic readers: knowledge transactions and scholarly services in late Elizabethan England', in *Religion, Culture and Society in EarlyModern Britain*, eds. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 102–124.
57. Ibid., 108.
58. William Stevens Powell, *John Pory, 1572–1636: The Life and Letters of a Man of Many Parts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 12–24. Pory's *Africa* includes much material from Hartwell's translation of Philippo Pigafetta's work on the Congo.
59. Leo Africanus, *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, trans. John Pory (London: George Bishop, 1600), dedication [1].
60. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, III (London: George Bishop, Ralfe Newberry, and Robert Barker, 1600), sig. A2 r. On this grant see Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, 2nd ed., 254, citing Patent Rolls, 42 Elizabeth, part 13.
61. The then reining Morrocan Sultan Ahmad I al-Mansur, and prior to him his brother Abd al-Malik (who had died at the battle of Ksar el Kebir, i.e. Alcazar), had spent 17 years exiled in the Ottoman Empire, and had been put

back on the throne with Ottoman military assistance. However, both rulers managed to maintain formal independence from the Ottoman Empire.
62. Africanus, *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, dedication [1].
63. Powell, *John Pory*, 42, 121.
64. Martin Fumée, *Histoire des Troubles de Hongrie* (Paris: Laurent Sonnius, 1594).
65. Martin Fumée, *The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie*, trans. R.C. (London: Felix Kingstone, 1600), in *EEBO*, sig. A3 r; on Hungarian refugees see V.J. Parry, 'Renaissance historical literature in relation to the Near and Middle east (with special reference to Paolo Giovio)', in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 15–16.
66. Not to be confused with the George Carey of Cockington who served as treasurer at war in Ireland 1599–1606 and Lord deputy of Ireland 1603–1604, had antiquarian interests and knew Camden, Cotton, and Bodley (and John Pory). Nor George Carew Earl of Totnes son of George Carew dean of Windsor. See *ODNB*.
67. Franklin B. Williams, 'Spenser, Shakespeare, and Zachary Jones', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 19:3 (1968), 205–212.
68. Marin Barleti, *The Historie of George Castriot, Surnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albanie*, trans. Zachary Jones from Jacques de Lavardin (London: William Ponsonby, 1596); Marin Barleti, *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirotarum principis* (Rome, 1510); Marin Barleti, *Historie de Georges Castriot surname Scanderberg*, trans. Jacques de la Vardin (Paris, 1576).
69. Andrew Hadfield, 'Spenser, Edmund (1552?–1599)', *ODNB*.
70. Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596)', *ODNB*.
71. *The Policy of the Turkish Empire*, sig. A2 r.
72. See Peterborough Cathedral Library, Peterborough.G.3.20.
73. Fletcher served as an MP and Remembrancer of the City of London, in which role he transcribed a letter of Henry Carey, see Andrew Gurr, 'Henry Carey's "Peculiar Letter"', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56:1 (2005), 53–54.
74. Carr, *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie*, sig. A2 r, Dd4 v.
75. Ibid., sig. A4 r–v.

3 'The Present Terrour of the World': Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603)

1. Samuel Johnston, *The Rambler*, II (London, 1767), 95:122, Saturday, 18 May 1751.
2. On Knolles see Christine Woodhead, 'The History of an Historie: Richard Knolles' *General Historie of the Turkes*, 1603–1700', *Journal of Turkish Studies* (Cambridge, 2002), 349–357; Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 13–36; Vernon Parry, *Richard Knolles' History of the Turks* (Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 2003), the latter is an edited edition of Parry's unsubmitted 1969 PhD thesis.
3. Richard Mulcaster, *The first part of the Elementarie* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1582), in *EEBO*, 271; Sybil M. Jack, 'Manwood, Sir Roger (1524/5–1592)', *ODNB*.

4. Louis A. Knafla, 'Manwood, Sir Peter (1571–1625)', *ODNB*.
5. Knolles (1603), sig. A6 v; William Camden, *Britannia* (London: George Bishop and John Norton, 1607), 239. Following a passage praising Roger Manwood: 'nec minori hodie filius eius Petrus *Manwood* Eques Balnei auratus, de quo cum virtutem colat, literas, literatosque foueat, non possum non nisi cum honore meminisse'.
6. Parry, *Richard Knolles' History of the Turks*, 6–7.
7. Knolles (1603), sig. A3 r.
8. Ibid., sig. A6 v.
9. For Sandwich Free School see W. Boys, *Collections for an history of Sandwich in Kent* (Canterbury: Simmons, Kirkby and Jones, 1792), 197–276. On Knolles's health see Bodleian MS Ashmole 849, fol. 105 r; Knolles (1610), sig. A4 r, 1303.
10. Bodleian MS Ashmole 849.
11. These were a 6.30am morning prayer, classes until 11.00am and then 1.00–5.00pm, followed by an evening prayer.
12. Jean Bodin, *The Six Books of a Commonweale*, trans. Richard Knolles, ed. Kenneth D. McRae (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 52–54.
13. A. Clark, *Lincoln* (London, 1898), 39–40; *The first and second Diaries of the English college Douay* (London, 1878); Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London: Tho. Bennet, 1691), fol. 715; Bodin, *Commonweale*, trans. Knolles, ed. McRae, 53–54.
14. Boys, *Collections for an history of Sandwich in Kent*, 223.
15. Thomas Fuller, *The historie of the holy warre* (Cambridge: Thomas Buck, 1639), 11:8, 1.
16. Knolles (1603), sig. A6 v.
17. Ibid., sig. A6 r, 83, 179.
18. On the complex bibliography of Lewenklaw's collections, the Ottoman chronicles on which they were based, and their translation, see Pál Ács, '*Pro Turcis* and *contra Turcos*: Curiosity, Scholarship and Spiritualism in Turkish Histories by Joahannes Löwenklau (1541–1594)', *Acta Comeniana* 25 (2011), 1–22; Nina Berman, *German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practices, 1000–1989* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 87–88; Parry, *Richard Knolles' History of the Turks*, 113–118.
19. Knolles (1603), 988. Refers to the pagination of the 1596 edition.
20. Parry, *Richard Knolles' History of the Turks*, 119.
21. Bodin, *Commonweale*, trans. Knolles, ed. McRae, 55; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, fol. 311.
22. We ought not to put too much emphasis on regionalism in the period as Italian humanist scholarship also spread to central Europe, for example, Bonfini wrote *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* for Matthias Corvinus in the style of Livy, and later served as the court historian in Buda, see Howard Louthan, 'Austria, the Habsburgs, and Historical Writing in central Europe', in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, eds, Rabasa, Sato, Tortarolo and Woolf (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2012), 302–323.
23. *Historia rerum in Oriente* (Frankfurt: Peter Schmidt, Sigmund Feyerabend, 1587); Philip Lonicer, *Chronicorum Turcicorum* (Frankfurt: Ioanne Feyerabendt, Sigismundi Feyerabents, 1587); Ioannes Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum* (Frankfurt: Andreae Wecheli, 1591); Ioannes Leunclavius, *Annales*

Sultanorum Othmanidarum (Frankfurt: Andreae Wecheli, 1596); Nikolaus von Reusner, *Epistolarum Turcicarum variorum et diversorum authorum*, I–III (Frankfurt: Ioan. Collitius, Pauli Brachfeldii, 1598–1600). See also Jean Boissard, *Vitae et icones Sultanorum* (Frankfurt: 1596). On Bishop at Frankfurt see Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, *Publishing, Politics and Culture: The King's Printers in the Reign of James I and VI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 92–93. On Wolfe see Chapter 2, ##–##.

24. Parry has argued that Knolles may have drawn on medieval manuscript accounts of the Crusades from the library of Robert Cotton.
25. Knolles (1603), 883, follows his account of Lepanto.
26. His references to 'Marinus Barletius, in 13 books, *De vita & gestis Scanderbegi*, from whence this Historie is taken', match the title and format in which this work appears in Lonicer.
27. Parry has linked Manwood to the circle of scholars who surrounded Archbishop Whitgift, including Hartwell, as well as other prominent members of the Society such as the historians William Camden, John Stow, and Robert Cotton. This link is supported by a surviving letter from Knolles to Cotton c. 1609 requesting material for the continuation added to the 1610 second edition of the *Generall Historie*, see British Museum Cotton MS. Julius C.3 fol. 225.
28. Knolles's references are to Barleti and the form and title in which his work appears in Lonicer rather than Lavardin to whom Jones credits this text. Further comparison of Knolles and Jones's texts show only superficial similarities, consistent with them both deriving ultimately from Barleti (whom Lavardin translated and expanded), for example, compare Knolles (1603), 284–286, to Jones, 27–36.
29. The format of lives preceded by portraits and epigraphical verses was also common in contemporary biographical works, which were popular at the time.
30. Ironically the most discussed engraving in the *Generall Historie*, that of Tammerlane, is also the only one for whom the source has not been convincingly identified, a state of affairs that has led to much speculation: Martin Holmes, 'An Unrecorded Portrait of Edward Alleyn', *Theatre Notebook*, 5 (1950), 11–13; John H. Astington, 'The "unrecorded portrait" of Edward Alleyn', *Shakespeare quarterly*, 44:1 (1993); Barbour, *Before Orientalism*, 42–46.
31. Astington suggests that that Lawrence Johnston may also have used Paolo Giovio's *De Rebus et Vitis Imperatorum Turcarum* (Basel, 1578) and *Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium* (1551, 1576). However, I have not been able to consult extant copies containing engravings. What is certain is that Johnson was drawing on an established tradition of visually representing oriental and specifically Ottoman monarchs.
32. The Lonicer (Lonicernus, Lonitzer etc.) family seems to have been prominent in scholarly circles in Marburg and Frankfurt. Historian Phillip (1543–1599) and botanist Adam Lonicer (1528–1586) were both sons of the Hebraist and theologian Johann Lonicer (1497–1569). Johann Adam Lonicer (1557–1609?) appears to be the son of Adam (the botanist), though he is sometimes confused with his grandfather and namesake Johann, see 'Adam Lonicer', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 15 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1987), 147–148.

33. F.S. Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580–1640* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 177.
34. D.R. Woolf, 'Genre into Artifact: the Decline of the English Chronicle in the Sixteenth Century', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988), 329, see also D.R. Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England: Erudition, Ideology and the 'Light of Truth' from the Accession of James I to the Civil War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).
35. D.R. Woolf, 'Historical writing in Britain from the late middle ages to the eve of the Enlightenment', in Rabasa, Sato, Tortarolo and Woolf, eds., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 480.
36. Knolles (1603), sig. A5 v.
37. '*Historiae sui temporis*'; '*Rerum Turcicarum*'; '*Illust. Virorum Elog*'. It is not clear which specific editions.
38. Knolles (1603), sig. A6 r.
39. Ibid., sig. A6 r–v.
40. For example, *Appendix zu der historischen relation Jacobi Franci* (1594); Theodore Meurer, *Relationis historicae continuation* (1600); Arber, III, 241, 'Historical relacons or a true description of all matters worthie memorie in all Europe and other places adioyninge from the moneth of Aprill until September 1602. Done by Andrew Strigell'.
41. MS Ashmole 849, 1.
42. Knolles (1603), sig. A6 r.
43. Ibid., sig. A5 v.
44. Anthony Grafton, *What was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Anthony Grafton, 'The identities of history in early modern Europe' in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Gianna Pomata and Nancy Siraisi (London: MIT Press, 2005), 41–74; Grafton's title refers to the essay E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).
45. Lamentations 2:1, Knolles's attribution of the book of Lamentations to the prophet Jeremiah was standard in his day, but rejected by many modern scholars.
46. Knolles (1603), [1]153.
47. Gog and Magog were often identified as northern barbarian peoples (sometimes 'Scythians') shut off from the civilised world by a wall with iron gates situated in the Caucuses by Alexander the Great, but destined to break through this barrier and eventually be defeated during the end of days.
48. The use of speeches in historical writing was surrounded by debate and by 1603, considered somewhat old fashioned. For a continental perspective see Grafton, *What was history?*, 34–49. For an account of the debate amongst English scholars contemporary to Knolles see Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550–1720* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 40–42.
49. William Leigh Godshalk, *The Marlovian World Picture* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 103. Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman, eds., *Christopher Marlowe: The plays and their sources* (London: Routledge, 1994), 70. Godshalk has identified 'as many as a hundred' Renaissance versions of the Timur story.
50. Jean du Bec, *Histoire du grand empereur Tamerlanes* (Rouen: Richard L'Allemant, 1595); Jean du Bec, *The Historie of the great emperour Tamerlan*, trans. H.M.

(London: William Ponsonby, 1597), in *EEBO*. Compare H.M, 122 with Knolles (1603), 218.

51. There is no known contemporary Arabic account of Timur (Samarkand had a Persian literary culture), Nizam ad-Din Shami wrote the only known contemporary history of Timur, in Persian. A later work by Sharaf ud-Din Ali Yazdi (also in Persian), the *Zafarnameh* is the best known work of Timurid historiography. The earliest Arabic account – Ibn Arabshah's Arabic history of Timur and life under his successor – portrays him as a tyrant.
52. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, III (London: Robert Barker, George Bishop, and Ralph Newbery, 1600), sig. A3 r.
53. Knolles (1603).
54. Ibid., 220–221.
55. Knolles was not alone in applying notions of structural tyranny to the Ottomans. Joan-Pau Rubiés has examined the notably similar paradigms applied by Giovanni Botero to the Ottoman Empire as part of his narrative describing the slow growth of a discourse from Aristotelean roots, across the period 1580–1750, culminating in Montesquieu's theory of Oriental Despotism. See Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Oriental Despotism and European Orientalism: Botero to Montesquieu', *The Journal of Early Modern History* 9:2 (2005), 109–180. For an alternative view of the development of 'despotism' drawn from late-sixteenth-century Venetian *Relazione* accounts of the Ottoman state see Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).
56. 'Barbarians' is also sometimes translated as 'foreigners'.
57. On tyranny see Aristotle, *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), *Pol*. III.14, 1284b35–1285b34, trans. B. Jowett; *Pol*. IV:10, 1295a1–24, trans., B. Jowett; Mary Nyquist, *Arbitrary Rule: Slavery, Tyranny, and the Power of Life and Death* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). The concept of tyranny was habitually applied by early modern Englishmen to other polities than the Ottoman Empire, notably Muscovy, see Marshall Poe, *A People Born to Slavery: Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476–1748* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).
58. Knolles (1603), sig. Fffff1 v–Fffff2 r.
59. *Kul*: a class of 'slaves' that from the late-fourteenth century made up the core of the Janissary corps and came to include much of the Ottoman bureaucracy. By the mid-sixteenth century being a *Kul* had become virtually mandatory for high office and a new social class emerged around the concept. Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 65; *Timar*: A temporary grant of land in return for which the holder provided military service.
60. Knolles (1603), sig. Fffff2 r.
61. *Devşirme*: An Ottoman institution by which usually Christian boys were tithed into service.
62. On fratricide and the Ottoman succession see Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650: The Structure of Power* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 108–109. In 1595 Mehmed III had his 19 infant brothers executed on his accession, the outcry against this act led to the abandonment of this practice.

63. Knolles (1603), sig. A5 r, 763.
64. Noel Malcolm, 'Positive Views of Islam and of Ottoman Rule in the Sixteenth Century: The Case of Jean Bodin', in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, eds., Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 197–220.
65. On Giles Fletcher, *Of the Russe Commonwealth* (London: T.D. for Thomas Charde, 1591), see Poe, *A People Born to Slavery*. On Giovanni Botero, *Delle relationi universali* (Rome, 1591–1596), and comparisons to Fletcher see Rubiés, 'Oriental despotism and European Orientalism: Botero to Montesquieu', 124–136.
66. On the historiography of Oriental Despotism see R. Koebner, 'Despot and Despotism: Vicissitudes of a Political Term', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951), 275–302; Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot*; Thomas Kaiser, 'The Evil Empire? The Debate on Turkish Despotism in Eighteenth-Century French Political Culture', *The Journal of Modern History* 72:1 (2000), 6–34; Rubiés, 'Oriental despotism and European Orientalism', 109–180.
67. Knolles (1603), 1. Note Knolles uses this term several times and uses both spellings 'terror' and 'terrour'.
68. Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York: Octagon Books, 1937), 100–149; Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 12; Daniel J. Vitkus, 'Early modern Orientalism: representations of Islam in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe', in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds., M. Frassetto and D. Blanks (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 210; Aslı Çırakman, *From the 'Terror of the World' to the 'Sick Man of Europe': European Images of Ottoman Empire and society from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth* (New York: P. Lang, 2002); Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 17–18; Daniel J. Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 50; Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 201; Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624* (Cranbury: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 37; Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 208.
69. E.g. Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 37.
70. Note, given the commonness of the Timur story in Renaissance Europe, there is no reason to conjecture a relationship between Knolles and Marlowe's versions.
71. William Warner, *Albions England, or historicall map of the same Island* (London: George Robertson for Thomas Cadman, 1586), in *EEBO*, 66; *Cornelia*, sig. A2 r.
72. W.S., *The lamentable tragedie of Locrine* (1595), in *EEBO*, sig. A3 v.
73. George More, *A Demonstration of God in his workes against all such as eyther in word or life deny there is a God* (London: by J. R. for Thomas Charde, 1597), in *EEBO*, 90.
74. Knolles uses this phrase no fewer than ten times. Three of these refer to 'Tammerlane', who Knolles describes as 'The wrath of God, and Terrour of the World'.
75. Arthur Dent, *The Ruine of Rome* (London, 1603), in *EEBO*, 124. I have assumed that this work was published later than Knolles's *Generall Historie* as it was entered in the Registers at a later date, and I have not encountered

any application of the term 'terror of the world' to the Ottomans prior to Knolles's usage. However, as the exact dates are not known, it is possible that Dent's work appeared first.

76. Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, 7:1, 10.
77. William Strong, *The Vengeance of the Temple* (London: John Benson, 1648), in *EEBO*, 26.
78. John Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London: John Dawson for George Humble, 1631), 35.
79. Thomas Urquhart, *Ekskybalauron* (London: Ja. Cottrel, 1652), in *EEBO*, 263.
80. Andrew Moore, *A Compendious History of the Turks* (London: John Streater, 1660), 1. The BL copy has the date amended to 1659.
81. The first five were done by Adam Islip, and the last by 'J.D.' for Thomas Basset, Robert Clavell, Jonathan Robinson, and Awnsham Churchill, who were also involved in the printing of Rycaut's continuation to Knolles history in the same year.
82. Arber, III, 223.
83. Arber, III, 454. Thomas Adams (d. 1620).
84. William Jackson, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' company, 1602–1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), 194.
85. Ibid., 299.
86. Ibid., 308. See also 'Petition of Elizabeth Adams, widow, and Andrew Hebb, to Archbishop Laud', April 25 1638, *Calendar State Papers, Domestic, Charles I 1637–1638* (London, 1869), vol. XII., 388: 34, 379. They sought to prevent further imprints of Islip's 1638 edition of the *Generall Historie*.
87. Henry R. Plomer, *A dictionary of the booksellers and printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1907), 106.
88. See Introduction, note 4.
89. Bodleian MS Lat. Misc. e. 115, commonplace book of John Greaves, cited from D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 150.
90. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire, preserved at Easthampstead Park, Berk*, II (1924–1940), 139.
91. F.J. Levy, 'How information spread among the gentry, 1550–1640', *The Journal of British studies* 2 (1982), 27. The inventory relates to the confiscation of Cavalier goods. All of the figures Levy examined owned at least one history the most popular being Camden on Elizabeth (5) and Knolles on the Turks (4), followed by Raleigh's History of the World (3) and Paolo Sarpi on the Council of Trent (3).
92. John Evelyn, *Numismata* (London: Benj. Tooke, 1697), in *EEBO*, 260.
93. Devon Records Office, 346M/F495, 17–26, cited from Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England*, 138.
94. On methodological issues see, Anders Ingram, 'Readers and responses to George Sandys's *A Relation of a Iourney begun An. Dom. 1610* (1615): *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) and the history of reading', *European Review of History* 17:2 (2010), 287–302. Note that this survey is of print sources only, and there are probably many extant manuscript references to Knolles. Further, the material that I discuss here is a selection of my findings, and while I believe they are representative, they should not be taken as exhaustive.

95. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London: William Stansby, 1613), 244, Purchas seems to be abridging Knolles (1603), 504.
96. Ibid., 236.
97. Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, II (London: William Stansby for Henry Featherstone, 1625), 1360.
98. George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun Anno Dominus 1610* (London: for W. Barrett, 1615), 42; compare to Knolles (1603), 3.
99. Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, 7:1, 10.
100. Samuel Clarke, *A geographicall description of all the countries in the known world* (London, 1657), in *EEBO*, 169.
101. Peter Heylyn, *The historie of that most famous saint and souldier of Christ Jesus, St. George of Cappadocia* (London: for Henry Seyle, 1631), in *EEBO,* 211.
102. Alexander Ross, *Pansebeia* (London: T.C. for John Saywell, 1655), in *EEBO*, 167, 170.
103. Robert Baron, *Mirza* (London: for Humphrey Moseley and T., Dring [*sic*], [1647]), in *EEBO*, 164.
104. Gerard Langbaine, *An account of the English dramatick poets* (Oxford: L.L. for George West and Henry Clements, 1691), in *EEBO*, see the accounts of 'Roger Boyle', 'Lodowich Carlell', 'William Davenant', 'Thomas Goff', 'Christopher Marloe' and 'Gilbert Swinhoe'.
105. Robert Sanderson*, Twenty sermons formerly preached* (London, 1656), in *EEBO*, 83.
106. William Narne, *Christs starre* (London: I.L. for Philemon Stephens and Christopher Meredith, 1625), in *EEBO*, 54; Knolles (1603), 654.
107. Abednego Seller, *The Devout Communicant* (London: for R. Chiswell, 1686), in *EEBO*, 99–100; Knolles (1603), 561. A further example is John Wade's *Redemption of Time, the Duty and Wisdom of Christians in Evil Days* (London: Nathanael Ranew, 1683), in *EEBO*, which cites Knolles word for word on the passing nature of temporal might (Timur), and the power of prayer (The Master of Rhodes during an Ottoman siege).
108. Paula McDowell, 'Sowle, Andrew (1628–1695)', *ODNB*. The pagination quoted by Sowle matches the 1621, 1631, and 1638 editions of the *Generall Historie*.

4 Trade, Diplomacy, and History

1. The term 'capitulations' was derived from the Latin *capitularium, capitulatio*, due to the division of these documents into articles or paragraphs. The Ottoman's referred to these documents under the more general term *ahdame*, and did not adopt the Ottoman form of *kapitülasyonlar* as a concept until the eighteenth century. Viorel Panaite, 'The legal and political status of Wallachia and Moldavia in relation to the Ottoman Porte' in eds. Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević, *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 37–39.
2. Prior to Harborne English merchants had traded more sporadically in the eastern Mediterranean for some time, Susan Skilliter, *William Harborne and the trade with Turkey, 1578-1582: a documentary study of the first Anglo–Ottoman relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 4–34. The Levant

Company was chartered in 1581 and amalgamated with the Venice and Turkey companies in 1592.

3. Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 55.
4. Alfred Cecil Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), 42.
5. Lewes Roberts, *The Merchants Mappe of Commerce* (London: By R.O. for Ralph Mabb, 1638), 80.
6. Andrew Hess, 'The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt (1517) and the Beginning of the Sixteenth-Century World War', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4:1 (1972), 55–76; Andrew Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of Sixteenth-century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); Palmira Johnson Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).
7. The details of these negotiations survive in European archives in the form of copies of secret Anglo–Ottoman communications leaked by translators at the Porte. Though such negotiations were always officially denied by Elizabeth, they caused scandal across Europe. See Susan Skilliter, 'The Turkish documents relating to Edward Barton's embassy to the Porte, 1588–1598' (unpublished PhD, University of Manchester, 1965).
8. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberry, 1589), sig. *2 v.
9. Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589, 1598–1600) is one of the foundational sources on the early English Levant trade; however, Hakluyt underplayed the involvement of figures such as Thomas Cordell of the Mercers Company in that trade in order to emphasise the importance of his patron Staper. See Skilliter, *William Harborne*, 11–19, 33.
10. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, voiages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*, II (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberry and Robert Barker, 1599), sig. *3 r–v.
11. Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe: unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary*, ed. Charles Hughes (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1903), 29. Note it was in the French ambassador François Savary de Brèves's interest to undermine Barton, who was his major commercial and diplomatic rival in Constantinople.
12. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II (1599), 294–295.
13. Quoted in translation from Skilliter, 'The Turkish documents', 126. Skilliter asserts that the original letter (in Turkish) survives as 'P.R.O., S.P. 102/61, fol.14', with a Latin translation extant as 'S.P. 102/61, f.16'. I consulted a further Latin copy of Sinan's Letter, including this passage, which survives as BL Cotton MS Nero B xi. Sir William Foster observes that the passage in question was included in the version of this letter sent to Venice by the ambassador of that state (*Cal. S.P. Ven.* Vol VIII no. 947) but not in Hakluyt's printed transcripts, in either Latin or English see *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1931), 279. See BL Cotton MS Nero B xi, fol. 198 v.
14. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and establishment of religion, and various other occurrences in the Church of England*, IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824), 214–215, see also Skilliter, 'The Turkish documents', 28. The original letter (in Latin signed by the Queen) survives BL Cotton MS Galba D XIII, 30.

15. William Camden, *The historie of the life and reigne of that famous princesse Elizabeth*, trans. Thomas Browne (London: for William Webbe, 1634), in *EEBO*, 84.
16. On Hakluyt's sensitivity to controversy and trade in the case of Giles Fletchers account of Muscovite Russia see Felicity Stout, '"The Strange and wonderfull Discoverie of Russia": Hakluyt and Censorship', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 153–166.
17. One of the few English printed sources to directly criticise the Anglo–Ottoman relationship is the Jesuit polemicist Robert Parson's *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles, presupposed to be intended against the realme of England* (1592). It is perhaps a measure of how unwelcome such criticism was that most of the print evidence for the controversy over Anglo–Ottoman diplomacy survives in the form of rebuttals such as Hakluyt and Camden's. See Matthew Dimmock, '"Captive to the Turke": responses to the Anglo-Ottoman Capitulations of 1580', in *Cultural Encounters between East and West, 1453–1699*, eds. Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005), 43–63. Aside from this English material there is substantial manuscript evidence for European scandal over English negotiations with the Ottomans. See Skilliter, 'The Turkish documents'; and *William Harborne*.
18. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, II (1599), sig. 3* r.
19. Count Nestore Martinegro, *The true report of all the successe of Famagosta* trans. William Malim (London: John Daye, 1572), in *EEBO*.
20. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II (1599), sig. *3 r.
21. Knolles (1603), sig. A5 r.
22. Nikolaus von Reusner, *Epistolarum Turcicarum variorum et diversorum authorum*, III (1600), lib. 12, 42–44.
23. Knolles (1610), sig. A6 r.
24. For example, comparing the imperial divan to the exchange in London, see Knolles (1610), 1298.
25. Knolles (1610), 1297.
26. F.S. Boas, 'Edward Grimeston, translator and sergeant-at-arms', *Modern Philology* 3:4 (1906), 395–409; G. N. Clark, 'Edward Grimeston, the translator', *English Historical Review* 43:172 (1928), 585–598.
27. Knolles (1621), 1387.
28. Ibid., 1396.
29. Ibid., 1324, 1388, 1393, 'Sanzovino' and Gotardus', on whom see Vernon Parry, *Richard Knolles' History of the Turks* (Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 2003), 55.
30. Knolles (1621), 1299–1300, 1384–1385; *Newes from Spaine*, trans. W.I. (London: for Nathaniel Butter, 1611). The term *Morisco* is a complex one. It applied to Spanish Musilms who had been forcibly converted to Christianity in the sixteenth century, but had often managed to retain a degree of linguistic and cultural independence, and were widely suspected of covertly maintaining their former religious practice. They were eventually expelled from Spain in the years 1609–1614.
31. Knolles (1621), 1322.
32. *A wonderfull and most lamentable declaration* (London: for Thomas Archer, 1613), in *EEBO*.

33. William Forde, *A sermon preached at Constantinople* (London: Edward Griffin for Francis Constable, 1616), in *EEBO*. On the story of the unfortunate Lady Anne Glover, her death from plague, and the unsavoury delay of three and a half years before she was buried in 1612, see Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 221–225.
34. Knolles (1621), 1379. This is a reference to the embassy of Uri or Husseine Chavus sent to James I by Sultan Osman II (*Genç* Osman) on his accession to the throne in 1618, see Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, 34; MacLean, *Looking East*, 204.
35. Knolles (1621), 1309.
36. Ibid., 1334.
37. Ibid., 1396.
38. Ibid., 1327.
39. Ibid., 1396; Matar mistakenly attributes this passage to Knolles, but it is by Grimeston, see Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, 114.
40. David Delison Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government, 1603–1642* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), 2. On Levantine piracy more generally see C.R. Pennell ed., *Piracy and Diplomacy in Seventeenth-century North Africa* (London: Associated University Presses, 1989); Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, Barbary Coast and Italy, 1500–1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Nabil Matar, 'Introduction: England and Mediterranean Captivity, 1577–1704', in *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, ed. Daniel Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 1–54; Daniel Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs: The End of a Legend, 1800–1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 9–25; Nabil Matar, 'Pirates and Captivity in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Perspective from Barbary', in *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550–1650*, ed., Claire Jowitt (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 56–73; Gerald MacLean, 'Of Pirates, Slaves, and Diplomats: Anglo-American Writing about the Magrib in the Ages of Empire', in *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder*; Pascal W. Firges, Tobias P. Graf, Christian Roth, and Gülay Tulasoglu, eds. *Well-Connected Domains: Towards an Entangled Ottoman History* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). Note that the material in the continuations of the *Generall Historie* focuses upon piracy as a problem faced by the English, rather than acts of piracy committed by Englishmen.
41. N.I. Matar, 'The Barbary corsairs, King Charles I and the Civil War', *The Seventeenth Century* 16: 2 (2001), 240–244.
42. Thomas Roe, *A True and faithfull relation, presented to his Majestie and the Prince, of what hath lately happened in Constantinople, concerning the death of Sultan Osman* (London, 1622), in *EEBO*; see also Arber, IV, 78.
43. Knolles (1631), 1403.
44. Ibid., 1436–1455.
45. Ibid., 1455.
46. Matar, 'The Barbary corsairs, King Charles I and the Civil War', 240.
47. Hebb, *Piracy and the English government*, 267; Matar, 'The Barbary corsairs, King Charles I and the Civil War', 239; Sari Ruth Hornstein, *The Restoration Navy and English Foreign Trade, 1674–1688* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1991).
48. The issue of the depredations of North African piracy on English shipping retained its relevance throughout the seventeenth century with Robert

Blake's attack on a corsair fleet at Porto Farina (Tunis) in 1655, and the series of wars between England and the Barbary regencies between 1674 and 1688.

49. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667–1678* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 251–252; Sonia P. Anderson, 'Paul Rycaut (1629–1700)', *ODNB*. In addition to acting as a consultant plans were made to send Rycaut on a secret peace mission to Algiers in 1682. However, events moved on and the initiative was abandoned.
50. R. Latham, and W. Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vii (1972), 326; viii (1974), 121, 156. Pepys purchased a coloured copy of this rare first edition from Starkey for the handsome price of 55s (before the fire it sold for 8–10s, or 20s bound and coloured). It was the pride of his collection. On reading Rycaut and the status of the *Present State* as a prestige book and focal point for elite sociability, see Kate Loveman, 'Books and sociability: the case of Samuel Pepys's Library', *The Review of English Studies* 61:249 (2010), 220.
51. For a bibliography of Rycaut's editions across Europe see Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, appendix 1, 294–297. Anderson also alludes to further extant manuscript translations and paraphrases.
52. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, 45.
53. Many members of the Rycaut family were involved in the Mediterranean and Levant trade. Paul's brother, Philip, was involved in shipping currants (one of the Levant Company's most lucrative monopolies). A related Philip Rycaut was later consul at Tunis and later Algiers in the 1680s, and a James Rycaut succeeded Paul Rycaut's successor, Thomas Coke, as secretary of the Constantinople Embassy in 1695. Colin Heywood, *Writing Ottoman History: Documents and Interpretations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 37.
54. Sonia P. Anderson, 'Rycaut, Sir Peter (1578–1653)', *ODNB*; Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, 19–49.
55. For an account of the mid-seventeenth-century currant trade see Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, 67–70.
56. For biographies of Rycaut see Heywood, *Writing Ottoman History*, 33–59; Anderson, 'Rycaut, Sir Paul (1629–1700)', *ODNB*; Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, 19–49.
57. Later editions took the title *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*.
58. *The Present State*, sig. A4 r.
59. Robert Boyle, *Experiments and Considerations Touching Colours* (London, 1664), in *EEBO*, 159.
60. On Sandys's as an authority on the Turks see Anders Ingram, 'Readers and responses to George Sandys's *A Relation of a Iourney begun An. Dom. 1610* (1615): Early English Books Online (EEBO) and the history of reading', *European Review of History* 17:2 (2010), 287–302; on travel writing on Islam and the Turks see Anders Ingram, 'Depictions of Islam in seventeenth-century English travel accounts', in *Knowledge is Light: Travellers in the Near East*, Katherine Salahi, ed. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 8–18.
61. *The Present State*, sigs A4 r–v.
62. For a general account of Rycaut's sources including Bobowski see Anderson, *An English Consul*, 40–42; John Paul Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 53–54.

63. Anderson, *An English Consul*, 240. On Tacitus as a major intellectual reference point in late humanist thinking see Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government, 1572–1651* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
64. *The Present State*, 217.
65. Ibid., 218.
66. As we saw in Chapter 1 an essay on crusade with the Turks was a commonplace conclusion for general works on the Ottomans by the mid sixteenth century, for example, Paulo Giovio, Antoine Gueffroy, and numerous others.
67. Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, *Legationis Turciciae epistolae quatuor* (Frankfurt, 1595). Although widely read in Latin, an English translation did not appear until 1694; see Augerius Gislenius Busbequius, trans. Nahum Tate, *The Four Epistles of A.G. Busbequius, Concerning His Embassy into Turkey. To Which Is Added, His Advice How to Manage War against the Turks* (London: for J. Taylor and J. Wyat, 1694). See also *The Present State*, 76.
68. *The Present State*, sig. A3 r–v.
69. Ibid., 33.
70. Ibid., 81.
71. Ibid., 9–10.
72. David Young, 'Montesquieu's view of despotism and his use of travel literature', *The Review of Politics* 40:3 (1978), 392–405; Linda Darling, 'Ottoman politics through British eyes: Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*', *Journal of World History* 5:1 (1994), 71–97. Young presents Rycaut as Montesquieu's prime source on the Ottomans. Darling presents Rycaut's views of the Ottomans as overwhelmingly negative, measuring his description by modern standards rather than those of his contemporaries.
73. Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Oriental Despotism and European Orientalism: Botero to Montesquieu', *The Journal of Early Modern History* 9:2 (2005), 109–180. Rubiés focuses upon the French travel writer François Bernier, rather than Rycaut.
74. Valensi notes 'The words despote, despotique and despotisme appeared in a French dictionary for the first time in 1720' and dates the 'concept of despotism' to the late-seventeenth century, see Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 2.
75. Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 202–203.
76. Steve Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 328.
77. Tim Harris, 'The Tories and the rule of law in the reign of Charles II', *The Seventeenth Century*, VIII (1993), 12.
78. Ibid., 19.
79. *The Present State*, 8.
80. Ibid., sig. A4 v.
81. Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (London: for John Starkey, 1679), sigs A3 r–A5 r.
82. Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire from the year 1622 to 1677* (London: J.M. for John Starkey, 1680), sigs B1 r–v.
83. Anderson, *An English Consul*, 248.
84. Ibid., 229.
85. Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire* (1680), memoirs, sig. 4I r.

86. Much of the critical work on French orientalism has focused upon the earlier phase of Postel and his contemporaries. On mid-seventeenth-century orientalism and specifically the translation of the Koran into French see Alastair Hamilton and Francis Richard, *André du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France*, Arcadian Library Series (London: Oxford University Press, 2004).
87. On Rycaut's sources and informants for this work see Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 149, 154–155.
88. These included Baltasar Gracian's *The Critick* (1681), and a translation from Greek of the life of Numa Pompilius for the John Dryden's edition of Plutarch's *Lives* (1683). He also contributed a continuation to the *Platina* or 'Lives of the Popes' (1685) by Baptista Platina, alias Bartolomeo Sacchi, covering the years 1474 to his own time. His final translation project was again from Spanish, *The Royal Commentaries of Peru* (1688) by Garcilaso de la Vega.
89. British Library M.S. Lansdowne, 1153 A, fol. 31 v: Rycaut to Clavell, 15 May 1686, see also Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, 231.

5 The War of the Holy League 1683–1699

1. My own survey of the EEBO_V2 Corpus developed by Lancaster University, and containing 12,284 early modern English works, identifies 1,642 texts containing variants of the term 'turk' in the decade of the 1680s. This is by far the highest number for any decade in my survey. The total number of texts containing the search term across the period 1500–1700 is 3,548.
2. *A particular account of the suddain and unexpected siege of Vienna* (London, 1683).
3. On English reports of the deposition of Mehmed IV see John Paul Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 122–158.
4. There is a shortage of adequate secondary works on the War of the Holy League. In particular there is a need for studies that draw on Ottoman accounts or archives alongside western sources despite the linguistic and methodological challenges this presents. This deficiency makes it difficult to assess this critical conflict with clarity and confidence. William B. Munson, *The Last Crusade* (Dubuque: W.C. Brown Book Co., 1969); John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965); Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Enemy at the Gate: Habsburgs, Ottomans and the Battle for Europe* (New York: Basic Books, 2009). On the War of the Holy League and Karlowitz as a turning point from the Ottoman perspective see Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World around It* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 55–61, 116–118; Suraiya Faroqhi, ed., *The Cambridge history of Turkey: the later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, III (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 51–54, 107–110; Rifa'at A. Abou-el-Haj, 'Ottoman diplomacy at Karlowitz', *Journal of the American Oriental society* 87:4 (1967), 498–512; Rifa'at A. Abou-el-Haj, 'The formal closure of the Ottoman frontier in Europe: 1699–1703', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 89:3 (1969), 467–475. A critique of periodization based on 1683–1699, and an alternative structured instead on factors internal to the Ottoman Empire is given

by Christine Woodhead, 'Introduction', in *The Ottoman World*, Christine Woodhead, ed. (London: Routledge, 2012), 3–4.

5. Following the repression of the Whig challenge to royal power by late 1682 the authorities clamped down heavily on both Whig and Tory newspaper publications. One result of this was that the majority of the English news reports of the siege of Vienna were in the form of one-off news pamphlets rather than periodical newspapers. The major exceptions to this pattern are the state newspaper the *London Gazette* and the royalist propagandist Roger L'Estrange's satirical periodical the *Observator*.
6. *A Brief Relation of the Siege of Vienna, and the Victory of the Christians against the Turks at Barkan*, [1]. Extant news pamphlets on the siege of Vienna, printed not only in London but also other centres such as Edinburgh and Dublin (often reprints of London editions) are too numerous to comprehensively survey here.
7. *London Gazette* no. 1860, 1683, 4; *London Gazette* no. 1861, 1683, 3.
8. Note the battle of Vienna occurred on 12 September. Thus the title of the 'Letter' is either a misprint or the apocryphal 'letter' is simply inaccurate.
9. B.W., *A True Copy of a Letter Sent from Vienna September the 2d. 1683* (London: John Cox, 1683), [r].
10. Note that in the decades following Karlowtiz the Hapsburgs constructed an extensive and expensive defence network in central Europe. Thus, despite the triumphalist hyperbole of much contemporary European writing, we should be cautious in drawing the conclusion that the Turks were no longer seen as a threat.
11. On political pamphleteering and ballads on the siege of Vienna see Anders Ingram, 'The Ottoman siege of Vienna, English ballads and the Exclusion Crisis', *The Historical Journal* 57:1 (2014), 53–80; Matthew Birchwood, 'News from Vienna: Titus Oates and the True Protestant Turks', in eds., Matthew Birchwood, and Matthew Dimmock, *Cultural Encounters Between East and West: 1453–1699* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005), 64–76. On apocalyptic writing see Warren Johnston, *Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 185–186.
12. In describing the shift in European perceptions of Ottoman power in this period, and the military defeats and loss of territory that brought about this change, I have consciously avoided using the term 'decline'. Not only would it seem to me strange to imply that an Empire that survived until 1923 was already 'in decline' in 1700, but this term is associated with a much broader analysis that suggests that following military defeats in the European theatre the Ottoman Empire turned in on itself, and became increasingly insular throughout the eighteenth century, finding its territories vulnerable to western colonialism in the nineteenth. These propositions have been strongly contested in a body of criticism too large to survey comprehensively here; however, see Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962); Halil Inalcik, 'Centralisation and Decentralisation in Ottoman Administration', in T. Naff and R. Owen, eds., *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Islamic History* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press 1977), 27–52; Rifa'at A. Abou-el-Haj, 'The Ottoman Nasihatname as a discourse over "Morality"', *Mélanges Robert Mantran* 47–48 (*Revue d'Historie*

Maghrebine), (1987), 17–30; Cemal Kafadar, 'The Question of Ottoman Decline', *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4 (1997–1998), 30–75. For recent surveys of the historiography see Fikret Adanair, 'Semi-autonomous forces in the Balkans and Anatolia', in Suraiya Faroqhi, ed., *The Cambridge History of Turkey: the Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, III, 165; Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 26.

13. As far back as the late seventeenth-century biographer Anthony Wood tentatively identified several contemporary writers called 'John Shirley': an Oxford man who wrote *A short compendium of chirurgery* (1678) who died in 1679; 'John Shirley Gent.', whose works on the Turks concern us here; 'John Shurley M. A. and Gent.', author of *Ecclesiastical history epitomiz'd* (1682); and finally one 'J. Shirley' author of *The renowned history, or the life and death of Guy Earl of Warwick* (1681). To add further confusion the last three of these figures may in fact have been the same individual. See Anthony Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniensis: An exact history of all the writers and Bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of* Oxford, II (London: for Tho. Bennet, 1692), fol. 484–485. F. D. A. Burns, 'Shirley, John (*bap*. 1648, *d*. 1679)'*ODNB*, primarily follows Wood's account.
14. John Shirley, *The history of the state of the present war in Hungary, Austria, Croatia, Moravia and Silesia* (London: William Whitwood, 1683), sig. A1 r.
15. The work in question is actually a life of 'Peter Aubusson', Grand Master of Rhodes, extended to include Suleiman I's later successful siege of Rhodes, drawn from several sources, though its earlier sections rely on Caoursin. See *The History of the Turkish war with the Rhodians, Venetians, Egyptians, Persians, and other Nations* (London: William Whitwood, 1683), in *EEBO*, the translator/compiler author is anonymous.
16. The subtitle page describes this work as 'The history of the Turks epitomised', though Shirley does not name his source or sources. The signature series of the Vienna section is not continuous with the rest of the work, perhaps indicating that it was added later. The work survives in two states, either ending with or beginning with the section on Vienna. The section on Vienna includes a transcript of a letter of Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, published elsewhere as a news pamphlet, which was probably Shirley's source, see *A True copy of A letter from Count Starembergh to the duke of Lorraine concerning the present condition of Vienna*.
17. John Shirley, *The History of the Turks* (London: Printed by Ralph Holt and John Richardson for Thomas Passinger, William Thackery, and Thomas Sawbridge, 1684), sig. A1 r. This work bears 1683 on its title page but 1684 on a second title page. This work has survived extant with both pages but seems to be one printing.
18. Thomas Mills, *The History of the Holy War* (London: Thomas Malthus, 1685), sig. A2 v.
19. Ibid., book II, 81.
20. Jean de Préchac, *The true history of Cara Mustapha*, trans. Francis Philon (London: for L. Curtis and H. Rodes, 1685), in *EEBO*, sig. A3 r.
21. Jean de Préchac, *The grand vizier, or the history of the life of Cara Mustapha* (London: Henry Hills for John Whitlock, 1685), in *EEBO*.

22. André Du Ryer, *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (London: Randal Taylor, 1688). On the 1640s context of this translation see Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007), 64–68, 68; and Alexander Hamilton and Francis Richard, *André du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
23. William Joseph Grelot, *A late voyage to Constantinople*, trans. John Phillips (1683); Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Collections of travels through Turky into Persia*, trans. John Phillips (London: for Moses Pitt, 1684); and Jean de Thévenot, *The travels of monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant* (London: Henry Clark for John Taylor, 1687).
24. See also the later abridgement by John Savage, *The Turkish History: Comprehending the Origin of That Nation, and the Growth of the Othoman Empire, with the Lives and Conquests of Their Several Kings and Emperors* (London: for Isaac Cleave, Abel Roper, A. Bosvile and Ric. Basset, 1701), in *ECCO*. Also published in an extended edition in 1704.
25. Rycaut (1700), sig. a1 r.
26. Ibid., sig. a1 v.
27. Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey*, 281.
28. Rycaut (1700), sig. a1 v.
29. Ibid., 121.
30. Ibid., 1.
31. M. Dalerac, *Polish Manuscripts, or, The Secret History of the Reign of John Sobieski the III of that Name, K of Poland. Containing a Particular Account of the Siege of Vienna*, trans. Anon. (London, 1700), in *EEBO*, sig. A2 r–v.
32. D. Jones, *A Compleat History of the Turks: From Their Origin in the Year 755, to the Year 1701. Containing the Rise, Growth, and Decay of That Empire* (London: J. Darby for Andr. Bell, W. Taylor, and John Osborne, 1719) in *ECCO*, sig. A2 r.
33. Knolles (1603), sig. Gggggii r.
34. Aslı Çırakman, *From the 'Terror of the World' to the 'Sick Man of Europe': European Images of Ottoman Empire and Society from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth* (New York: P. Lang, 2002).
35. Savage, *The Turkish History*, sig. A2 r.

Conclusion

1. My survey of 12,284 early modern texts based on a Corpus derived from the EEBO TCP project phase one would suggest that of the total of 3,548 texts that contained variants of the word 'Turk' across the years 1500 to1700, 2,285 occurred in the decades of the 1600s and 1680s.

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Manuscripts

BL Arundel MS 8
BL Cotton MS Galba D XIII
BL Cotton MS Julius C III
BL Cotton MS Nero B XI.
BL Lansdowne MS 1153A
Bodleian MS Ashmole 849

Primary texts

Anon. *A Brief Relation of the Siege of Vienna, and the Victory of the Christians against the Turks at Barkan*

Anon. *A copie of the last advertisement that came fro[m] Malta*. London: Thomas Marsh, 1565

Anon. *A dialogue and complaint made upon the siedge of Oastend … with certaine newes written towards London, from Italy, Fraunce, Hungary, and other places*. London: Mathew Law, 1602

Anon. *A fourme to be used in common prayer every Wednes daye and frydaye*. London: William Seres, 1565

Anon. *A particular account of the suddain and unexpected siege of Vienna*. London, 1683

Anon. *A true copy of a letter from Count Starembergh to the duke of Lorraine concerning the present condition of Vienna*.

Anon. *A true discourse wherin is set downe the wonderfull mercy of God, shewed towardes the Christians, on the two and twenty of June. 1593 against the Turke, before Syssek in Croatia*. London: John Wolfe, 1593

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